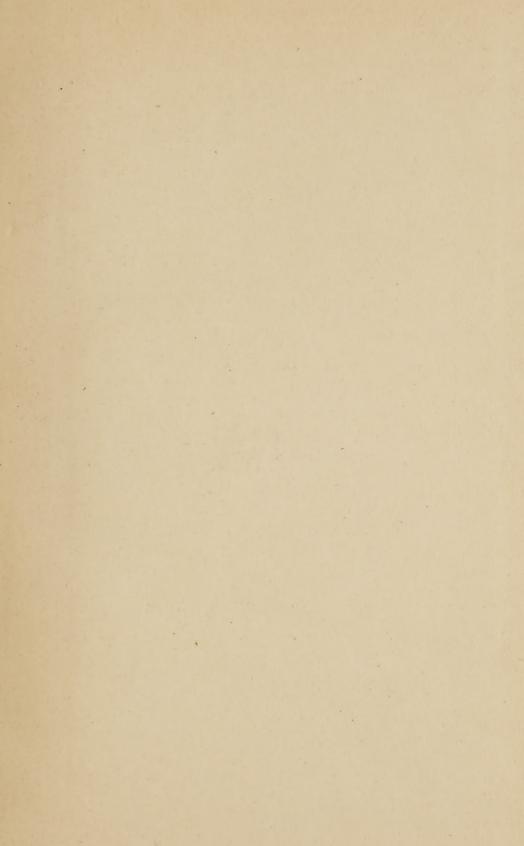
A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY 1704-1923

GEORGE E. DEMHALE









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The Enthronement of the Present Bishop of Albany, The Right Reverend G. Ashton Oldham, D. D., S. T. D. October 24, 1929



A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY

1704-1923

By
George E. DeMille, M. A.

Registrar of the Diocese of Albany and Author of "The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church"

With Foreword by the Bishop of Albany

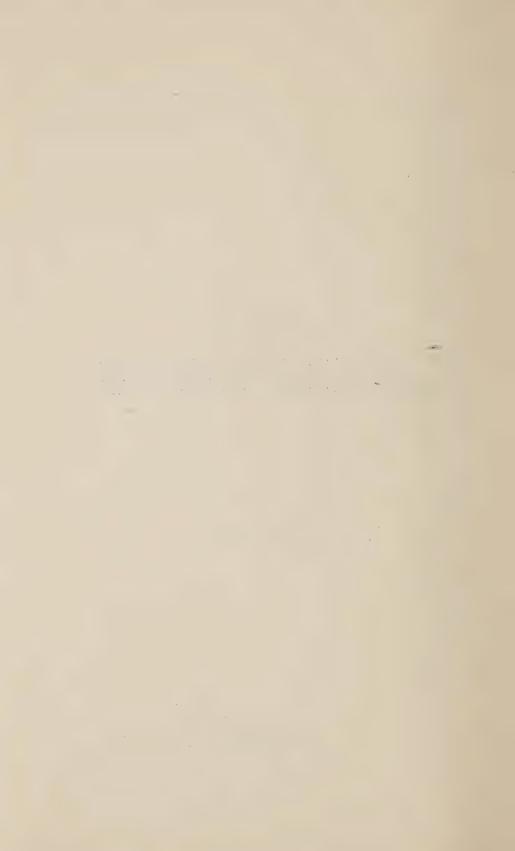
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FOREWORD

As third Bishop of the Diocese of Albany, it is a deep satisfaction to me that the history of this Diocese is now being set forth. Comprising approximately one-third of the state of New York, including its capital city and an area unusually rich in historic associations, the struggles and achievements of this Diocese should be of more than passing interest.

The true life of a Diocese is not to be discerned in its institutions alone, nor can it be measured by statistics. Rather is it part of that continuous stream of the historic Catholic Church which flows down through the ages—a pure river of water of life, on whose banks grow the trees whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

While the author has made diligent and thorough research so as to present the external facts with accuracy, he has also caught and endeavored to portray something of that inner ethos of the life of the Diocese, as manifested in and through "His faithful soldiers and servants" of yesteryear.

I take this occasion to thank both the author and publishers for their sustained interest and labors in the production of this work, which I heartily commend to all past and present members and friends of the Diocese of Albany.

Bishop of Albany.



PREFACE

Stevenson long ago gave away one of the secrets of the writer's job when he admitted that a preface was for the writer just a bit of fun. The manuscripts have all been thumbed over; the dusty libraries explored; the tough sentences hammered into shape; and the writer now appears, with a simper of affected modesty, and takes whatever plaudits may be forthcoming.

The writing of this history has been both a revelation and an inspiration. Not only has this study demonstrated the inherent vitality of the Episcopal Church, its power to survive and grow under adverse conditions; it has also suggested wherein the principle of that vitality lies. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the diocese of Connecticut stood out in the American Church as the home of true Church principles,—rock founded, staunchly dogmatic, and therefore strong. Albany is in some sense the child of Connecticut, and has inherited Connecticut steadfastness. And so, as one hundred years ago men were proud to label themselves Connecticut Churchmen, I am today eager to claim the title of "Albany Churchman."

My obligations in this study are many: first, to Bishop G. Ashton Oldham, who initiated the project, and has steadily furthered it with financial support; to Mrs. Margaret Doane Fayerweather, who gave me access to the Doane *Papers*; to Mrs. C. S. Hamlin, whose charming reminiscences of the Doane family and of the early days of the cathedral are now in the diocesan library; to the Rev. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, for reading the proofs; and to the Rev. Dr. Walter H. Stowe, whose knowledge and patience

have been always available.

GEORGE E. DEMILLE

Church of the Cross, Ticonderoga, New York. All Saints' Day, 1945.

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CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE long, sad history of the dealings of the white man with the Indian are not only a blot on American history; they also constitute a serious indictment of Puritan Christianity. The Spaniards in South America conquered and exploited the Indian, it is true, but they also made him a Christian. The story of the missionary work of French Jesuits and Recollects in Canada and within the confines of the present United States, constitutes one of the most glorious chapters of missionary history. But the New Englanders were usually content to steal the Indian's land, debauch him with rum, and in the long run exterminate him. The Indian was not of the elect.

I. ANGLICAN MINISTRY TO THE INDIANS

It is therefore one of the glories of our Church, and of the diocese of Albany, that the first work done by Episcopalians within the confines of that diocese was a strenuous and successful attempt to convert the Iroquois to the Anglican form of the Catholic faith. The initiative appears to have come from the Indians themselves. At a conference held in 1702 at Albany between Lord Cornbury, royal governor of New York, and the sachems of the Mohawks, five of those sachems petitioned Queen Anne to "be a good mother, and send them some to teach them religion." This was a fortunate time for such a petition. Of all English queens. Anne was perhaps the most likely to lend a receptive ear to this petition. And she had at hand an organ to carry out her will—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,² founded only the year before. This petition was seconded by a memorial from Robert Livingston, secretary for Indian Affairs, who urged that sending English-speaking missionaries to the Five Nations would be an excellent means of counteracting French Jesuit influence. Livingston followed up this memorial by himself attending a meeting of the Society in 1703.3

In October, 1703, the Society acted on these appeals by selecting two missionaries, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore, and a Rev. Mr. Smith, providing them with stipends, and despatching

³Klingberg, p. 52.

¹F. J. Klingberg, Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1940), p. 51.

²Hereinafter called the S. P. G., or the Society.

them on their way to the wilds of the Mohawk Valley. Smith. whose first name cannot be ascertained, at once disappears from the record. Moore arrived in Albany in the fall of 1704—the first Anglican priest to function regularly within the bounds of the present diocese of Albany. For a little over a year he worked among the Indians in the neighborhood of Albany and Schenectady, but without much success. He attributed his failure to the bad conduct of the New Englanders, who stole the Indian's land. to the bad example of living set by the English garrison in Albany. and most of all to the selling of rum to the Indians by the Dutch traders. Throughout the history of Indian missions, we find the rum trade perpetually recurring as one of the chief obstacles to missionary progress.4 A further cause of failure, not mentioned by Moore, was probably the fact that Moore, instead of living in the Indian villages, worked on them only as they came into touch with white civilization at the trading posts mentioned; thus coming in contact with the Indian at his worst. In November, 1705, the disheartened missionary abandoned his field.

The next attempt was more successful. In 1708 the Rev. Thomas Barclay arrived in Albany. He had been sent out by the Society with the primary intention that he should minister to the English garrison at that place. But apparently he was a priest filled with the true missionary spirit, for he at once began to extend his labors into the Indian field. He reports, on June

12, 1711:

"The proselytes have accepted of my ministry, and on 23 of May last in our English chapel at Albany, I christened a child of one of their chief sachems, and on the 9 of this month I had a meeting . . . in the Church of Schenectady to the number of 50 and upwards . . . After I had catechized several of them, I found three fit for receiving the sacrament, and the day following being Sunday, they very devoutly received it at my hands." §

During the previous year, 1710, four Iroquois sachems, one of whom was the famous Hendrick, visited England, and again requested the queen that a missionary be sent to them. As a result, a select committee of the Society determined on a set policy with regard to the Indian missions. Itinerant missionaries were to be sent among the Five Nations, and work among

⁴Klingberg, pp. 53-55. ⁵*Ibid.*, p. 60.

them was to be given preference over work among the white settlers; a chapel, a rectory, and a fort were to be built as a permanent center for the work: a catechism, and extracts from the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer were to be translated into the Indian language; and the queen was to be petitioned to send out a bishop to oversee the work.

These resolutions bore immediate fruit. The Mohawks, the most easterly of the Five Nations, and the nearest to white influence, had their chief settlement at Canajoharie, which was located on the west bank of the Schoharie Creek at its junction with the Mohawk River.⁶ Here, in 1711, Queen Anne's chapel was begun, a stone building twenty-four feet square, with a belfry. The rectory was started the following year. The funds for these buildings were supplied by the queen, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the S. P. G. In addition, the queen gave many liturgical accessories, including a silver communion set.7 In February, 1712, the Rev. William Andrews, who had been in America, and had some slight knowledge of the Mohawk language, was appointed to the mission. He arrived in Albany on November 13, and immediately proceeded to Fort Hunter. On November 15 the first service was held in the new chapel, the sermon being preached from the text, "It is written my house shall be called the house of prayer."8

The Indians, as might have been expected from the repeated action of their sachems, were in a receptive frame of mind, and the first report of Andrews to the Society was filled with enthusiasm.

⁶The name Canajoharie is one of the minor puzzles of the history of colonial New York. It was always the name given by the Mohawks to their chief castle. The first Canajoharie, located at the junction of the Schoharie and the Mohawk, was called by the English Fort Hunter, in honor of Gov. Robert Hunter, a strong patron of the English Church. A hamlet of this name still exists at this point; the rectory still stands and is inhabited. About the middle of the 18th Century the main body of the Mohawks moved west along the river to the second Canajoharie, sometimes called the Upper Castle. The site is still called Indian Castle, but it is now marked only by the abandoned church built by Sir William Johnson. The third and modern village of Canajoharie has no connection with either castle, and is located between the two. located between the two.

TKlingberg, p. 62.

**Tklingberg, p. 63. Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon, historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, in a letter to the author, states:

**The two ministers in the colonial period named William Andrews, one in 1712-1719 and the other 1770-1773 [see below, Section III, footnote 52], both appear

in the Church in Virginia. "The first William Andrews came to Virginia in 1700, and was minister of St. Mary's Parish, Caroline County, for three or four years. He then went to the charge of Hungar's Parish in Northampton County (on the Eastern Shore). After some years here, he presumably returned to England, where the S. P. G. found him and sent him as a missionary to the Indians in 1712." [For reference, see Edward L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 246.] "I find, I thank God, most of the Indians that are at home . . . very well disposed to embrace those Christian doctrines which are delivered to them, as appears from their diligence in coming to church and their seeming good attention and devotion when there, and where we commonly have 50 or 60 every Lord's Day . . . I had 18 at the Sacrament on Christmas Day."

But he soon encountered difficulties. His knowledge of the Iroquois language was imperfect, and for some time preaching had to be carried on in an amusingly complicated fashion. Andrews first preached in English; one interpreter translated this into Dutch; whereupon a second interpreter took over and carried it from Dutch into Iroquois. Nor could life at Fort Hunter have been a bed of roses. Isolated in a savage wilderness among dark-skinned barbarians with whom he could not even converse, surrounded by the dirt and disorder of an Indian village, and subject to the perpetual setbacks of the rum trade, for a visit of the traders with a supply of rum usually meant that all of Andrew's converts, men, women, and children, lapsed for the nonce into the most disgusting savagery—to carry on required the utmost devotion and courage.

But in spite of difficulties there was a steady progress. Between November, 1712, and September, 1713, forty-five Indians were baptized. In 1714 William Bradford of New York published the Book of Common Prayer in Mohawk, supplying the missionary with a most necessary tool. In the same year Andrews pushed out into the remote country of the Onondagas, where it was proposed to start a second chapel, and there baptized a considerable number. At Fort Hunter a school was started. In 1715, there were one hundred Indians regularly attending services. But for all these advances, Andrews became more and more discouraged. He became convinced that the Indians were a "sordid, mercenary, beggardly people, having but little sense of religion, honor, or goodness among them; living generally brutish lives. . . . Heathen they are and heathen they will still be." With such a view of the character

⁹Klingberg, p. 64. ¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. This chapel never became a reality. The communion service given for its use by Queen Anne was kept at St. Peter's, Albany, where it still remains.

¹¹Ibid., p. 70. ¹²Francis Halsey, The Old New York Frontier (New York, 1901), p. 49.

of his wards, it is not surprising that in 1719 he finally left for the more ordered life of a white parish.

After the departure of Andrews, there was for a time no resident priest at Fort Hunter. Nevertheless, the work there was by no means suffered to lapse. The rector of St. Peter's, Albany (and St. Peter's was never long without a rector), was usually given a stipend from the S. P. G. to attend to the spiritual wants of the Mohawks. Thus, in 1728, the Rev. John Miln reported that he visited Fort Hunter four times each year, staying several days, baptizing and administering the Communion. At Easter of 1731 there were fifteen Mohawk communicants, and fourteen Indians were baptized. When Miln left Albany, in 1735, Lieutenant Walter Butler, the founder of the famous tory family, who was then commandant at Fort Hunter, wrote to the Society asking that the work be continued, and testifying that the Mohawks were rapidly becoming civilized and were eager for Christianity. 14

The next priest to work in the field was a native of the future diocese. While the Rev. Thomas Barclay was at St. Peter's, he had born to him a son, Henry, who was educated at Yale, and in 1735 was appointed catechist at Fort Hunter. He reported that only three or four of the adult Indians living there were still unbaptized. Assisting him was the Rev. J. J. Oel, a native of the Palatinate, who had been ordained in England on his way to this country, probably with the hope that he might bring those of his countrymen who had settled in large numbers in the Mohawk Valley into the English Church. This plan failed, the Palatines refusing to accept his ministrations. He therefore bought a farm near Indian Castle, where he settled; but he still continued to work as a priest, ministering to the Indians at the Upper Castle until 1777.15

In the spring of 1737 Henry Barclay, having been ordained in England, was appointed priest at Albany and Fort Hunter. He appears to have been an ideal man for the work, native to the country, knowing the Indian character, and able to minister to the Mohawks in their own tongue. The mission took on a new lease of life; in 1738 he reported that five hundred of the Indians at Fort Hunter—which must have been nearly all who lived there—were Christianized, and fifty were communicants.

¹³Klingberg, p. 72.
¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 73.
¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 74-78.

Assisting him, besides Oel, who worked at Indian Castle, were two schoolmasters. In addition, following a precedent set by his father, he began to make use of Indians as catechists and lay readers.

Shortly after Barclay's return as priest, there came into the Mohawk Valley the layman who was to become the great patron of the Anglican Church in that region—William Johnson. In 1738 Johnson was sent by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, to manage the latter's vast estate, which lay west of Schenectady along the Mohawk River. Johnson soon became a landowner in his own right, a trader who by honest dealing gained the confidence of the Indians, and eventually the one Englishman who could be depended upon to handle the Five Nations. Known and trusted by the Indians as no other Englishman had ever been, in 1746 his influence over them was recognized by the English ministry, who appointed him Commissioner for Indian Affairs.

Fortunately for the Anglican Church, Johnson was a strong and active churchman. It has been contended that his zeal for the Church was merely a side of his statesmanship. W. L. Stone, Jr., one of his biographers, rather stuffily remarks:

"It is not contended that his zeal sprang from those higher and purer principles which actuate the true disciple of Christ, for a Christian in its strictest evangelical sense he was not; but that he earnestly desired a higher-toned civilization for the red man, from motives of pure benevolence, cannot be doubted." ¹⁶

Such a statement seriously wrongs the memory of the greatest layman of the Church in this area. Johnson was imperfect; he drank rum, he swore like the army in Flanders, his marital relations were irregular, though far from promiscuous. In Puritan eyes these sins quite damned him. But a more enlightened morality may perhaps hold that they were more than compensated for by his genuine and unselfish zeal for the public interest, his utter honesty in business, his fatherly care for his Indian wards, and his far-seeing statesmanship. Nor is it possible for an unprejudiced student of his acts and letters to escape the conviction that his care for the Church sprang from a deep and abiding belief in the Church's teachings. Constant willingness to contribute to her support, constant effort to use his influence in

¹⁶Quoted in Klingberg, p. 90.

her behalf, constant watchfulness to secure for his own field the best possible missionaries—these are the indications of some-

thing more than a merely political churchmanship.

Johnson, knowing the Indian and respecting him, felt that the solution of the Indian problem was not to attempt to make him over into a second-rate white man, but to preserve the Indian way of life, that way being made Christian. He wanted schools for the Indians, but in the Indian country. He came therefore to oppose Dr. Wheelock's plan, which was to take the Indian capable of education away from his tribal environment. He wanted missionaries to live with the Indians, and he aimed to secure as those missionaries the best men available. It is worthy of note that he at one time attempted to induce the Rev. Samuel Seabury to enter the Mohawk missions.¹⁷ In the beginning of his career he frequently supported dissenting missions, but he finally came to be completely opposed to them, feeling that they were unable to adapt their teaching to Indian needs. He wrote that Indians "brought up under the care of dissenting ministers become a gloomy race and lose their abilities for hunting." a mark of Johnson's ecclesiastical statesmanship that he was one of the strongest advocates of an American bishopric, which he offered to endow with twenty thousand acres of land. Indeed. if Johnson had had his way, the diocese of Albany would have been born a century sooner than it was, since he strongly pressed the claims of Albany as the see city for the proposed bishopric. 18

If Johnson deserves the title of the first Anglican layman of the Mohawk Valley, the second place must go to an equally remarkable man—Joseph Brant. A full-blooded Mohawk Indian, Brant has been called with some justice "the most extraordinary man his race has produced since the advent of the white man on this continent." In the making of this man the Episcopal Church had a large part. He early attracted the notice of Johnson, who sent him to be educated at Dr. Wheelock's school. All his life a devout communicant of the Church, he acted as interpreter, translator, and lay reader. Like Johnson, he had a strong feeling against dissenters. He is reported to have said, after sampling a crab-apple, "It is as bitter as a Presbyterian." Brant was for years a name of terror in the Mohawk Valley, since he was the chief leader of the Mohawks in their attacks on the settlements

¹⁷Klingberg, Chapter III, passim ¹⁸Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁹Halsey, p. 165.

during the Revolution. It is, however, well attested that he, like Butler, made strenuous attempts to restrain his followers in their bloody excesses. When the Mohawks were finally driven out of the Valley, it was Brant who led them into their exile, and he remained until his death in 1807 the trusted leader of his

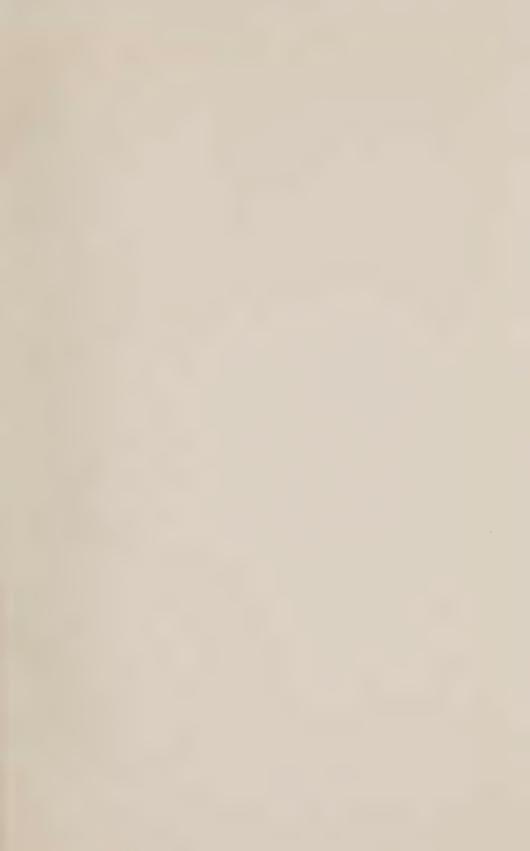
people.

With such a patron as Johnson in such a commanding position, the Church made rapid advances in the valley. In 1745 Barclay, who had made a name for himself by his excellent work, was called to Trinity Church, New York, but he was mindful of his former field, and in 1748 recommended for its care the Rev. John Ogilvie, whom he had taught to speak Mohawk. Ogilvie, a man of exceptional ability, remained in charge of St. Peter's and Fort Hunter until 1760, when he became an army chaplain.²⁰ He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Brown, of whom we know very little except that he quarreled with the Presbyterians. The Rev. Harry Munro, who followed Brown in 1767, was an active missionary. In 1770 he made an extensive missionary tour, of which he writes:

"In September last I preached at Sir William Johnson's; baptized six and married one couple. I am now returned from visiting Sir William and the Indians at Fort Hunter, where I preached last Sunday and administered the Sacrament; and am now preparing for another journey to Conojoharee, the Upper Castle, being seventy miles from Albany, there to preach and administer the Sacrament."²¹

But Sir William was far from satisfied with these occasional missionary visits. In 1767 he had been made a member of the S. P. G. He at once began to use this membership as a lever to move the Society to the maintenance of full-time missionaries among the Indians. To further this work, he built in 1770 a chapel for the Mohawks at the Upper Castle (Indian Castle), which was dedicated in the same year by Munro. The Society co-operated by granting one hundred and fifty pounds a year for an Indian school, which was to be under Sir William's supervision. Finally, in the same year, 1770, Johnson secured his resident missionary, the first since Andrews had left in 1719. This was the Rev. John Stuart, a native of Pennsylvania, a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, and a convert from

²⁰Klingberg, p. 79. ²¹*Ibid.*, p. 84.





THE REVEREND JOHN STUART, D. D. MARCH 10(N.S.)1740—AUGUST 15, 1811

Reared a Presbyterian and educated at the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. Deacon, August 19, 1770; priest, August 24, 1770; both ordinations by Dr. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London.

Stuart was the S. P. G. Missionary to the Mohawks in colonial New York, and after the Revolutionary War he was appointed Commissary for Upper Canada. He has been called "the Father of the Church in Upper Canada."

[See J. W. Lydekker, Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, Vol. XI (1942), pp. 18-64.]

Mrs. John Stuart nee Jane Okill of Philadelphia July 8, 1747—June 10, 1821

She symbolizes those wives of the clergy who shared their hardships and sacrifices in the colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary eras of the Church. Too often have they been "unhonoured and unsung."



Presbyterianism. Stuart possessed the physical impressiveness requisite for the respect of the Indians. A contemporary thus describes him:

"He was about six feet two inches in height—not corpulent—and not thin—but with fine masculine features. expanded chest, erect figure; straight, well-formed limbs, and a free, manly carriage, improved by a fondness in his vouth for athletic exercises, particularly fencing. . . . I have seen no one who came up so fully to the idea one is led to form of a fine old Roman—a man capable of enduring and defying anything in a good cause."22

We have some indication of Stuart's churchmanship. While at Philadelphia he made the acquaintance of William White, and they continued to correspond for years. After the Revolution. White sent to Stuart a copy of his pamphlet suggesting that in default of bishops, the American Church should elect a convention with powers to confer ordinations. Stuart replied. "I am still clogged with all my old Prejudices in regard to the Divine Right and uninterrupted Succession of Episcopacy."23

Backed by Johnson, assisted by Brant and Paulus, a son of the old sachem Hendrick, as lay readers, with a resident schoolmaster at the Upper Castle, Stuart became the undisputed religious leader of the Mohawk nation. At Fort Hunter he was able to build up, in addition to the Indian congregation, a white congregation of about one hundred, and he had strong hopes that the Episcopal Church was on its way to becoming THE Church in this section of the valley.²⁴ It is interesting to find that after the lapse of fifty years, his chief obstacle was that encountered by Moore and Andrews—the rum trade. In 1774 he reported:

"The Indians here continue their regular attendance on Divine service, and their morals are much improved since my residence among them. But for want of a constant interpreter, tis but seldom I have an opportunity of preaching to them—the Liturgy, with administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, Marriage, and the Office for the Burial of the Dead. I can read to them in their own language."25

²²J. W. Lydekker, The Rev. John Stuart, in Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, Vol. XI (1942), p. 63.
²³Ibid., p. 50.
²⁴Ibid., p. 26.
²⁵Lydekker, op. cit., p. 27.

Sixty years of work among the Mohawks had borne abundant fruit. By 1775, the Mohawks were a Christian nation—more than that, an Episcopalian nation, 26 regularly attending worship in the chapels at Fort Hunter and Indian Castle, sending their children to the schools at both places. Nor were Indian converts confined to the Mohawks. Many Oneidas and Onondagas had been baptized into the faith. Furthermore, by an interesting reversal of the normal order of things, the Indian missions were serving to draw the white population of the valley into the Church. The present St. Ann's, Amsterdam, one of the few parishes in this country of over a thousand communicants, is the offspring of the Indian chapel at Fort Hunter. To this flourishing work the Revolutionary War put an end—as far as the Mohawk Valley is concerned.

II. THE FOUNDING OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ALBANY

Even before the establishment of the Mohawk mission at Fort Hunter, there were traces of Church of England activity in the town of Albany. In 1674 provision was made by the English government for a garrison chaplain at New York. This was under Governor Edmund Andros, long notorious as "the tyrant of New England," whom modern historians are beginning to recognize as a faithful and far-sighted servant of the crown. Part of his odium undoubtedly arose from the fact that he was a loyal member and a steadfast patron of the English Church. On his arrival in New York he was probably accompanied by the Rev. Nicholaus Van Rensselaer, who apparently was the first of the garrison chaplains. Since Albany also had an English garrison, his ministrations extended there; he was thus the first English priest to officiate there or anywhere within the confines of the present diocese.²⁷ A son of the patroon, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, he had met the Stuarts during their exile, had later gone to England and there been ordained by the bishop of Salisbury.²⁸ In

²⁶Halsey tells an amusing story of the attachment of the Mohawks to the Church of England. The Rev. Aaron Crosby, a Congregationalist, was conducting service at Oghwaga in 1774, using the Congregational form, when a Mohawk in the pews rose up and proceeded to recite from memory the Anglican service. [Halsey, p. 81.]

1900), p. 23. ²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 24.

Ogilvie attests that a number of Mohawks, absent on a hunting expedition, came sixty miles to make their Christmas communion. Another group who accompanied Braddock, had Morning and Evening Prayer read every day by Abraham, their catechist. [W. S. Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church (Boston, 1885, 2 vols.), Vol. I, p. 328.]

27 Joseph Hooper, A History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany (Albany, 1998).

1676, he was ministering in Albany as a colleague of Domine Schaets, the minister of the Dutch church, but his English orders made him suspect, trouble arose, and after 1676 he ceased to function as a clergyman. He died in 1678.29

From 1678 on, the chaplains of the garrison at New York continued to visit the garrison at Albany from time to time. The Rev. John Miller, chaplain from 1692 to 1695, extended his labors to Schenectady, then the outpost of English settlement in the far west. His Description of the Province and City of New York is one of our best sources of information as to the condition of the colony at the end of the seventeenth century. The book included plans of Albany and Schenectady, and a scheme for the propagation of the Church of England in these parts. It was his suggestion that a suffragan of the bishop of London be sent to reside in New York, to be assisted by a group of traveling missionaries.³⁰ This, like all the plans for a colonial episcopate, came to nought.

The foundation, in 1701, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts marked the dawn of a new day for the Church in the province of New York. In the summer of 1702, two pioneers of the English Church, the Rev. George Keith and the Rev. John Talbot, set out, under the auspices of the Society, on a tour of investigation that led them from New Hampshire to North Carolina. In the course of their travels. they accompanied Lord Cornbury to the Indian conference at Albany, of which we have already made mention. At this conference, Talbot was strongly urged to remain at Albany and found the Church there.³¹ This he could not see his way clear to do. but his strenuous support of the missionary scheme was one of the factors that eventually produced the Mohawk mission. The Rev. Thoroughgood Moore, the first of the missionaries to the Mohawks, officiated in Albany in 1704, and indeed, spent most of his time in that town. After his departure in 1706, two years elapsed before anything more was done in or for Albany.

The arrival in Albany, early in 1708, of the Rev. Thomas Barclay, marks the real beginning of St. Peter's. The younger son of a noble Scottish family, Barclay was first sent out as garrison chaplain at Albany, but his zealous work among the English civilians there, and among the many Indians who re-

²⁹Joseph Hooper,, p. 29. A History of St. Peter's Church in the City of Albany. (Albany, 1900)
30Ibid., p. 30.

³¹ Ibid., p. 37.

sorted to the trading post, led Bishop Compton of London to suggest a change in his status. In October, 1709, the Society appointed him their missionary at Albany, allowing him a stipend of fifty pounds, in addition to the fifty pounds he received from the crown as garrison chaplain.³² A very favorable account of his work is given by the contemporary historian of the S. P. G.:

"Mr. Barclay was very industrious in his mission and acceptable to the people. Upon the Dutch minister, Mr. Dellius, being absent, he persuaded many people of the best note and character to come and hear him. They attended him in their church where the English Liturgy was read in Dutch and he preached to them in Dutch; and several of the principal inhabitants conformed entirely to the Church of England and numbers of the common people followed their example." ³³

Two noteworthy facts emerge from this account. The relations between our Church and the Dutch Reformed Church during colonial days were in general excellent. We frequently were given the use of their buildings; their clergy often co-operated in every way with ours. Furthermore, the Dutch parents were in the habit of sending their children to English schools conducted by our clergy; a procedure which brought in great numbers of converts. Barclay notes, in one of his early reports to the Society, that "a great many Dutch children, who at my first arrival were altogether ignorant of the English tongue can distinctly say our catechism and make responses at prayers."

Barclay soon extended his work to Schenectady, where also he found the Dutch settlers receptive to his ministration. Con-

cerning his progress there he remarks:

"In this village there has been no Dutch minister these five years and there is no probability of any being settled there. There is a convenient and well built church which they freely gave me the use of. I have taken pains to show them the agreement of the articles of our church with theirs." ³⁴

³²Hooper, p. 47. ³³*Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁴Ibid., p. 48.
³⁴Ibid., p. 42. A further indication of the cordial relations between Dutch and English churchmen is shown by the case of Dominie Freeman, who in 1705 left the Dutch Church in Schenectady to minister in Flatbush. He translated into the Indian language a good deal of the Book of Common Prayer, and Barclay assured the Society that if there had been a bishop in the colonies, he would have applied for episcopal ordination. [Hooper, p. 50.]

It soon became evident that St. Peter's was too much a going concern to continue worshiping in a borrowed building. In 1712, therefore, the convocation of the clergy of the province of New York petitioned Governor Hunter to promote the building of a church in Albany. This petition was repeated in 1713 and 1714.35 On May 31 of the latter year, the governor granted a license to the Rev. Mr. Barclay and the wardens to begin collecting money for this purpose. After considerable sums had been raised in Albany, Schenectady, and New York, the governor, on October 21, 1714, granted the parish a plot of ground, ninety by sixty, to serve as a site for the church and burial ground. This tract was located in the middle of what is now State Street, just above Pearl—nearly opposite the present St. Peter's. Work was begun at once, and in spite of delays occasioned by legal difficulties with the town authorities, who felt that the governor had exceeded his powers in giving away land in the middle of their principal street, the church, a stone edifice fifty-eight feet long and forty-two wide, was opened for service in November, 1716³⁶

The building of the first St. Peter's was a great step forward for the infant parish, but it proved a catastrophe for the rector. The S. P. G. considered the raising of the necessary money to erect the building evidence that the parish no longer needed the support of the Society, and on March 6, 1716, the stipend paid to Mr. Barclay was withdrawn. Already hard put to it to support a wife and four children on an income of a hundred pounds a year, Barclay was now reduced to actual destitution. In his last letter to the Society, in 1721, he complained that he was so much in debt that he was "obliged to keep within doors not daring to step abroad on week daies to perform Divine Serviceand for a minister to be confined to his house being eight in family . . . and not a morsel of bread to eat, methinks this melancholy story should stir up compassion in the hardest heart. In 1721, the Society acknowledged its injustice toward one of its most faithful missionaries, and the stipend was restored, but too late. In 1722, Barclay, worn out by privation and anxiety, became insane. He never recovered, dying in 1726.

³⁵*Hooper*, p. 66. ³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 61.

³⁷Ibid., p. 54.

During the four years of Barclay's insanity, the parish remained in a state of suspended animation. Finally, in the fall of 1726, the bishop of London appointed the Rev. John Miln to Albany. He was also to have charge of the vacant Mohawk mission at Fort Hunter. Soon after his arrival he reported a hundred people in regular attendance at St. Peter's, with twenty-nine communicants at Easter. A healthy indication that the congregation was beginning to move toward self-support is shown by the action of the vestry in 1730, allowing the rector an annual sum not to exceed eight pounds for house rent. In 1736, having "had the pleasure of seeing the Indian mission grow in strength and interest, the congregations at Albany increase, a catechetical school established, and the revenues of the parish satisfactory," he was transferred to Christ Church, Shrewsbury, New Jersey.³⁸

Not much time was lost in securing his successor, and it is a pleasure to record that that successor was the Rev. Henry Barclay, the son of the first rector. It is sometimes alleged that one of the weaknesses of the Anglican Church is its failure to produce saints. True, we have no elaborate machinery for labeling them as such; if we had, St. Henry Barclay might well be listed in the calendar. Brought up in the grinding poverty of a missionary parsonage, neither that experience, nor the worse one of seeing his father driven insane by privation and neglect, could weaken his vocation. In 1735, as we have noted, he had been appointed lay catechist at Fort Hunter, and there had done excellent work. The records of St. Peter's show that he had also occasionally officiated there as lay reader. In 1737 he proceeded to England. where he was ordained deacon and priest, and in the spring of 1738 arrived at Albany to take charge of the work there and at Fort Hunter. A native of the town, already known and loved, speaking both Dutch and Mohawk, he was supremely qualified for the dual post. In 1741 he reported that the congregation in Albany consisted of one hundred and eighty people, beside two companies of the garrison, and at Fort Hunter sixty English people and fifty-eight Indians had reached communicant status.39 He frequently officiated at Schenectady, and in 1741 extended his field to the Dutch village of Kinderhook, twelve miles southeast of Albany. The breaking out, in 1744, of King George's War, seriously hampered missionary activity among the Iroquois. It was in the midst of this war, on October 17, 1746, that the vestry

³⁸Hooper, p. 73. ³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 77.

of Trinity Church, New York, called Barclay to the rectorship of that parish. Had he seen any immediate prospect of reopening the Indian mission, he would have declined the call, though it was to the highest post in the colonial Church; and after his departure for New York, he continued to take an active interest in his former field.40 It was on Barclay's recommendation that John Ogilvie, a native of New York City, just graduated from Yale College, went to England in 1748, and was there ordained in 1749. Bearing his appointment as missionary at Albany and Fort Hunter, he arrived at the former place in February, 1750.

His work there shortly demonstrated the excellence of Bar-"With his arrival new energy was infused into clav's judgment. every portion of his extensive mission. His culture, affability, judgment, varied knowledge and eloquence gave him at once a position in the community of which the memory long lingered in Albany."41 One of the first tasks that confronted him was that of renovating the fabric of St. Peter's. Thirty-one pounds were collected, enough to repair the interior, construct a steeple, and purchase a bell. 42 The interior is thus described by a contemporary:

"The altar was located in the east end, and over it was a triplet window. On the sides there were two windows facing the North and two towards the South. The pulpit, reading and clerk's desk, were on the North side between the windows, and the pews so constructed that the congregation sat facing the pulpit. There was a gallery on the west end, the entrance to it from the south door. The walls were adorned with fine valuable oil paintings."43

Ogilvie's efforts were seconded by a group of brilliant and influential laymen; among whom were Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, the probable author of "Yankee Doodle," Philip Schuyler, and Goldsborough Banyar, the friend and correspondent of Sir William Johnson. When the governor of the province was in Albany. he sat as a matter of course in the governor's pew at St. Peter's. A fair indication of the progress of any mission is to be found in the number of its baptisms. Ogilvie's record in this respect was

⁴⁰Hooper, p. 81. ⁴¹Ibid., p. 88. ⁴²This bell still hangs in the tower of the present St. Peter's, and rings in the New Year.

43Hooper, p. 90.

notable. Between January, 1755, and July, 1756, he baptized one hundred and thirteen white adults and children, twenty-

eight Negroes, and twenty-seven Indians.44

In 1755 the French and Indian War broke out, but with less disastrous consequences for the Church than had resulted from the start of King George's War. Albany was thronged with soldiers, to whom Ogilvie industriously ministered. He continued to visit the Mohawks at Fort Hunter and at Indian Castle, and preached to the garrison at German Flatts. In 1759 he accompanied Johnson's expedition against Fort Niagara as chaplain. So successful was he in this work that in 1760 Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the British commander-in-chief, ordered him to accompany the army to Montreal. He never returned to Albany.

His place at Albany and Fort Hunter was temporarily filled by the Rev. Thomas Brown, a regimental chaplain, and a hardworking, but rather tactless man, who quarreled with the Presbyterian missionaries, and eventually with his congregation. He

left in 1767.

His successor, the Rev. Harry Munro, who had been stationed at what is now Yonkers, found the parish somewhat run down, but his vigorous administration soon recovered the lost ground. In 1768 he reported that the congregation consisted of one hundred and fifty attendants and forty-four communicants. Under his regime the parish was formally incorporated, on April 25, 1769. Munro soon recognized the practical impossibility of carrying on efficiently the double work of Albany and Fort Hunter, and his strong recommendation to that effect was one of the factors that brought about the separation of the two in 1770.

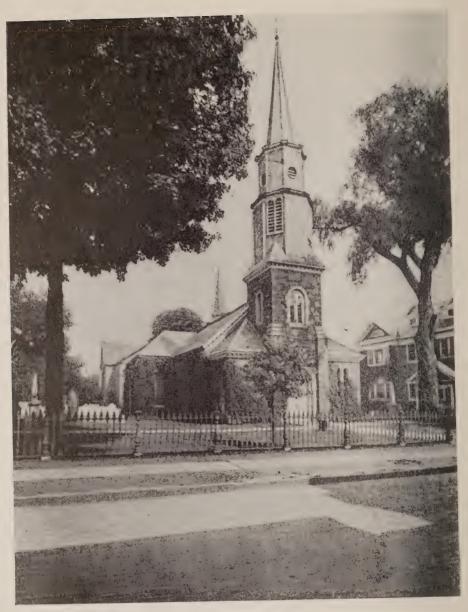
This was no indication of a lack of missionary spirit on Munro's part, however. Freed from his responsibilities for the Indian work, he "made an excursion nto the woods to the eastward of Albany, and visited the new settlements of Lansingburg, St. Choack, Shaftsbury, Arlington, Cambden, White Creek, Saratoga and Stillwater, being a journey of one hundred miles and upwards." One purpose of this journey was undoubtedly to look over the large tract of land granted him by the British

⁴⁴Hooper, p. 94. ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴⁶This name is a puzzle. It refers either to St. Croix, a settlement on the Hoosac River near the present city of Hoosick Falls, or to the village of Schaghticoke. I incline to the former.

47Klingberg, p. 84.





St. George's Church SCHENECTADY

The original building, completed in 1769, ten years after the foundation was laid, was a rectangle, 36 feet in width and 56 feet in length. It was substantially the nave of the present building. In 1837 the sides towards the east end were opened, and transepts were added. In 1859 further changes in the east end and in the transepts were made. In 1871 the present stone tower was erected. In 1882 the east wall was moved ten feet, and the present recess sanctuary was built.

The physical changes in this building since colonial times symbolize the adaptation of the

Episcopal Church to the spiritual needs of each generation.

government for his service in the army—a tract lying in what is now Washington County, which he divided into farms and rented. For himself he built a log house where he spent a part of each summer, and where he was accustomed to hold open air services every Sunday he was in residence—undoubtedly the first use of the Book of Common Prayer in Washington County. 48 It is gratifying to note his attention to the spiritual needs of the Negro slaves at Albany. In 1773 he reports having baptized fifty, that he catechizes twenty every Sunday, and that six have been admitted to the Holy Communion.⁴⁹ In 1773, the wardens and vestrymen bore this testimony to the success of his rectorship:

"These do certify that the Reverend Mr. Henry Munro has resided among us these five years last past as the venerable Society's missionary. That he has attended to the duties of his office faithfully and diligently. That we conceive the doctrines he delivers to be sound and orthodox. That we esteem his behavior decent and becoming his sacred function. That there appears to be a general peace and harmony in the Congregation, which we hope by the blessing of God may be long continued and enjoyed."50

The hope was not to be fulfilled.

III. ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SCHENECTADY

The parish of St. George's, Schenectady, was much slower in becoming established than its slightly older sister in Albany. Schenectady, like Albany, was occasionally visited during the seventeenth century by garrison chaplains from New York. One of these, the Rev. John Miller, who visited the frontier settlement in the 1690's, made the earliest known map of the hamlet of Schenectady. The real work of the Episcopal Church in Schenectady began with the Rev. Thomas Barclay. As a missionary of the S. P. G., his commission was to some extent a roving one, and from his headquarters in Albany he made visits to the neighboring town during 1709. In 1710 he established there an English school for Dutch-speaking children—frequently during these times the opening wedge for an Anglican missionary. His successors, Henry Barclay, John Ogilvie, and Thomas Brown.

⁴⁸Hooper, p. 119. ⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 120. ⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 121.

also made periodical visits, but no attempt was made during the first half of the eighteenth century to establish a separate parish in Schenectady.

The true father of St. George's parish, according to Mr. Willis T. Hanson, the parish historian, was a layman, John W. Brown, an English emigrant who settled there in 1748. An ardent churchman and a close friend of the Rev. John Ogilvie, it was to his driving impulse that the beginnings of St. George's were due. In 1758, a subscription was started to build a church in Schenectady. Johnson, always the benefactor of Anglican missions, contributed thirty-one pounds, ten shillings. The next year, work was started on the building. As was often the custom in those days, one Samuel Fuller was both architect and builder. So well had the work progressed that by 1763 the first services were held in the church. It was a substantial building of blue stone, fifty-six by thirty-six feet, so well constructed that it still stands—the oldest Episcopal church building within the diocese of Albany. The Rev. Thomas Brown of Albany was the first clergyman to minister within this building, and so flourishing was the prospect that in 1765 the members of the parish petitioned the S. P. G. to send them a resident missionary of their own. In 1769 the building was completed.

Friction soon started with the Presbyterians, many of whom had subscribed to the building fund with the understanding that they were to have the use of the church when it was not needed for Anglican services. Apparently there was real danger that in the absence of a resident priest, the church might fall completely into their hands. In 1765, therefore, the vestry petitioned the governor for a charter that would secure to them the perpetual possession of the building. It is worthy of note that this petition was first sent to Johnson, that it might go to the governor with the weight of his recommendation behind it. The petition was granted.⁵¹

In 1769 William Andrews, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, arrived at Johnstown, asking Johnson to give him a letter of recommendation to the S. P. G., his intention being to take

⁵¹I find this amusing and not very truthful quotation in the *History of Schenectady County*. It is said to be taken from the papers of Alexander Kelly, who was a member of the Presbyterian parish in the sixties. "Betwixt 1760 and 1770, the Episcopalians and presbyterians a need & build a Church Betwext them, the Former to goe in at the west Door, the Later at the South Door when the Church was Finesht John Brown belonig to the English Church went to New York & get it Consecrated under the Bishop unknown to the Presbyterians."

orders and return. The letter being given, he went back to England, was duly ordained and married, and in January, 1771, we find him in Schenectady, the first priest to be resident there. He reported to the S. P. G.:

"The first time I preached here was on Sunday the 6th of January last, and since that I only baptized 5 children, buried one, and administered the Sacrament to 20 communicants on St. Matthias day, 5 of whom then communicated for the first time. Agreeable to the People's Request, I have preached twice every Sunday, and intend so doing. In the Evening I catechize the children, several of whom are Dutch."

The parish flourished. On April 1, 1771, occurred the first reported election of wardens and vestrymen. On June 24 of the same year the rector reported to the S. P. G. that there were eighty adults regularly attending church—a number quite sufficient to support a priest. But one of the difficulties the Church had to face in this country was the English habit of depending on endowments for church support; thus we find Mr. Andrews forced about this time to open a school to eke out his income. In 1773 he resigned, giving failing health as his reason. The real cause, as so often in those days, was probably lack of financial security.52

He was succeeded by the Rev. John Doty, a native of this country and a graduate of Columbia, who had been in charge of a parish at Peekskill, and who arrived in Schenectady in 1774. In the same year the parish suffered a great loss in the death of Sir William Johnson. A worse blow came with the beginning of the American Revolution in the following year, and St. George's, like most Episcopal parishes in the north, was eventually forced

⁵²Concerning the second William Andrews (see above, Section I, footnote 8, for

⁵²Concerning the second William Andrews (see above, Section I, footnote 8, for the first), Dr. Brydon of Virginia writes:

"He came from New York to Virginia in 1773. We have not located him for the first year or two, but by 1776 he was minister of Nottoway Parish in Southampton County. On July 10, 1776, he was chosen rector of Albemarle Parish, Sussex County, 'on condition that he will submit to be upon the same foundation with the rest of the clergy in this government as the Commonwealth of Virginia.' He accepted and took charge on October 1, 1776. But in 1881, when Lord Cornwallis was ravaging the territory of Virginia, William Andrews went over to the English side, was received by Lord Cornwallis, and made chaplain of the garrison at Yorktown. He was captured in the surrender of the British forces, was presented for trial for treason, but was permitted to leave the Commonwealth." [See G. MacLaren Brydon, "The Clergy of the Established Church and the Revolution," in the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XLI, pp. 20-21.]

to close until after the war. But a beginning had been made, a building had been erected, and St. George's was on its way to becoming a strong parish.

In a report to the S. P. G., made after Doty had reached Montreal as a fugitive, he thus summed up his work at St.

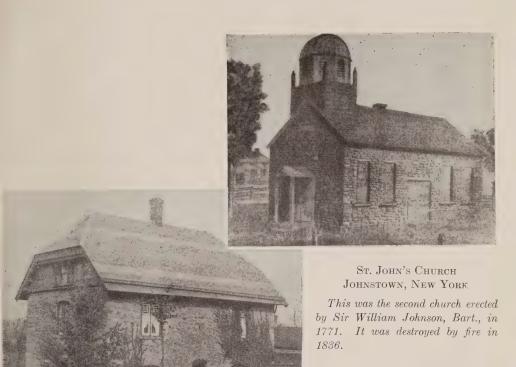
George's:

"In the course of my ministration, I have baptized above one hundred infants; but the most of them were brought in from the circumjacent country, in which there are many poor families who belong to the Church of England, and amongst whom I have occasionally preached & baptized. But in the Town, when I left it, the number of souls under my care (exclusive of slaves) was 59, Viz, 34 adults and 25 children, of the former of which 16 are communicants, and of the latter 12 are Catechumens; for I have made it a constant rule from the beginning, to catechize such of the children as were of sufficient age on every Lord's day afternoon, in the open Congregation, according to the Rubrick." ⁵³

IV. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, JOHNSTOWN

The last of the colonial parishes to be erected within the present limits of the diocese was St. John's, Johnstown. For his services during the French and Indian War, the king had presented to Sir William Johnson a vast tract of land in the hills north of the Mohawk River in what is now Fulton County. Here, in 1764, Johnson built his final residence, Johnson Hall, and prepared to live out the rest of his life as an American baron. A thriving village soon grew up around the manor hall. It was to be expected that so ardent a patron of the Church of England as Sir William would not let his estate be long without an established church. Some time between 1764 and 1766, therefore, the first church at Johnstown was built, in what is now the old graveyard. It was never satisfactory: Johnson remarked that it was small and very ill built. He planned to replace it with a building capable of holding a thousand people—a positive cathedral for colonial America. In 1771, the second church was erected, on the present site. It was described as "an elegant

⁵³J. W. Lydekker, *The Rev. John Doty*, in Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, Vol. VII (1938), p. 292.



QUEEN ANNE'S CHAPEL PARSONAGE, 1712 FORT HUNTER, NEW YORK

"At the present time [the building is still standing, 1945] it has the appearance of a very durable stone building with main entrance to the south. It is two stories high and about 25 x 35 feet in size. The walls are thick, making the recesses of the quaint old windows very deep, the glass being 6 x 8 and the sash in one piece. The glass for the windows and the bricks for the single large chimney were brought from Holland. On the east end of the building and over the cellar arch, the characters '1712' are still legible."—Ye History of St. Anne's Church, p. 10.



stone church with organs." Apparently the "organs" were something notable, for there are several mentions of them in contemporary documents.

Until 1772 there was no resident priest at Johnstown, but services were held fairly frequently. The Mohawk missionaries invariably stopped here on their western trips. In 1772, a rector was secured—the Rev. Richard Mosely, who had been a chaplain in the British navy, and later had held two parishes in Connecticut. Mosely had left Litchfield, his last parish, because of a conflict with the civil authorities. He was arrested and fined for performing a marriage under his license from the bishop of London, which the authorities held of no validity in the colony. So indignant were his parishioners at this obvious bit of sectarian persecution that thirty families of them migrated with him, forming a large and living nucleus for the new parish. Mosely held office only two years, resigning in 1774. On his departure, the congregation—Sir William had already died—invited the Rev. John Stuart of Fort Hunter to officiate once a fortnight, and took the remarkable step, for those days, of raising by subscription thirty pounds to pay his stipend. In 1776, his ministrations ceased, and the church was closed.

V. BEGINNINGS IN COLUMBIA COUNTY

On October 8, 1715, a group of Palatine Germans who had settled at Kingsberry, on the great manor of Livingston, about where the city of Hudson new stands, addressed to Governor Hunter a remarkable petition, in which they asked his permission to erect a church to be used for worship according to the use of the Church of England. This petition is signed, among others, by their clergyman, John Frederick Haeger, probably in German Reformed orders.⁵⁴ The petition is recorded as having been granted, and there the matter lapses into obscurity. There is no indication that the church was built, nor what the status of Dominie Haeger was. According to the county history—and county histories are to be used with great caution—he ministered to them as an Anglican priest. But again there is no record that

⁵⁴E. B. O'Callaghan, The Documentary History of the State of New York (4 vols., Albany, 1849-1851), Vol. 3, p. 703.

he ever received Anglican orders. If this group of Germans moved to Virginia in 1716, as seems likely, Haeger never was or-

dained in the Anglican Church.55

Practically speaking, the beginning of the Episcopal Church in Columbia County was due to the missionary work of the Rev. Gideon Bostwick. Between 1772 and 1783 Bostwick, who was rector of the Church of St. James, at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, apparently held regular services at Lebanon Springs. and certainly married and baptized people there.⁵⁶ He also was occasionally at Claverack Landing, now the city of Hudson, and at Kinderhook. Strangely enough, though he was well known to hold tory views, he was permitted to officiate both in his parish and in the colony of New York throughout the Revolution.

VI. THE HAVOC OF WAR.

By the year 1775, the Anglican Church was beginning to be well established in the territory of our survey. St. Peter's. Albany, was a thriving parish, Johnstown a close second, and Schenectady was making progress. Our priests had extended their labors into what are now the counties of Washington, Co-

55We are indebted to Dr. G. MacLaren Brydon of Virginia for the probable

solution of this puzzle. He writes:
"The Rev. John Frederick Haeger, who appears in Columbia County, New York, in 1715, as a German minister, must have been the same man who appears in Virginia in 1716 and 1718 under the names of either Henry Haeger or John Haeger. The latter two are unquestionably the same man, as different records describe them

as being in exactly the same places.

"In 1716 the Rev. Henry Haeger appears in Virginia with the group of Palatinate Germans (German Reformed) whom Governor Spotswood had located at Germanna on the Rapidan River. This group of Germans moved bodily across the Rappahannock River into what is now Fauquier County (near Warrenton), at a place named for them 'Germantown.' An appeal for help for them was made and printed in a newspaper at Frankfort, in which money was asked to erect a church and a young minister was sought to assist Mr. Haeger, who was 76 years old. Also, an appeal was made to the S. P. G. to have such a young volunteer German minister ordained into the Church of England. The S. P. G. gave them 25 German Prayer Books, but no volunteer appeared for ordination, and this group of Germans died out.

"Although these Germans were Reformed, the Rev. C. W. Cassell in his *History*

of the Lutheran Church in Virginia and East Tennessee, p. 187, says: 'Lutherans living at Germantown in 1720 united with the German Reformed under Rev. John Haeger in sending an agent to Europe with a petition to the S. P. G. in London for support of a minister. He was promised 25 German copies of the Book of Common Prayer,

and in Germany he collected some money but was unable to secure a pastor.' See also, Fairfax Harrison, Landmarks of Old Prince William, Vol. I, p. 213.

"Bishop William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, Vol. II, pp. 75-76, gives in full the petition to the S. P. G., but his treatment of the matter is inadequate and seriously incorrect, because, as he said, he did not know much about the matter."

⁵⁶J. Hooper, An Historical Address—The Church of Our Saviour, Lebanon Springs. For additional data on Bostwick, see below, chapter II, appendix II, No. 19.

lumbia, and Rensselaer. Our relations with the Dutch settlers and their Church were almost uniformly good, and many of them were conforming to Anglicanism. Above all, our missionaries had done an excellent piece of work among the Mohawks, the great majority of whom were churchmen, and many of them churchmen filled with a real devotion. To all this, the outbreak of the Revolution put a sudden end.

We have begun to learn, what the writers of the school histories studied in the last century apparently never suspected, that the American Revolution was not merely an uprising of oppressed and liberty-loving colonists against tyrannical English overlords, but a much more complex matter. In the area covered by this study, it was an affair of many and criss-crossed lines. It was, in some sense, a war of Dutch and Palatines against English and Scotch; it was a war of small land-owners against the lords of the manor; it was a war of Indian against white; and it was to some extent a war of Anglican against dissenter. On all counts, the Church of England was on the losing side. Beloved by the Mohawks, patronized by great tory families like the Johnsons, strongly royalist in feeling, and even in liturgy, staffed by priests who were loyalists to a man, she soon experienced a sharp and severe persecution.

The rector of St. Peter's, the Rev. Harry Munro, like most of his brethren in the North, believed himself bound by his ordination oath of loyalty to his sovereign. For a time he continued to minister, though everyone knew where he stood. As far as we know, his last service in the church was in 1776, possibly on the occasion of the fast day, May 26th of that year. After this, Mr. Munro continued to hold service in the fort, and to visit the tories in prison in Albany. In July, 1776, the committee of safety made regulations to prevent this. The next winter, Munro was himself in prison on suspicion of plotting against the colonial cause. In November, 1777, he escaped and made his way through the forest to Ticonderoga, and from there to Canada.⁵⁷

The parish of Johnstown was vacant when the Revolution broke out, and as soon as the Johnson family had fled to Canada, the Presbyterians laid hands on both the church building and

⁵⁷Hooper, pp. 125-127.

the glebe with which Sir William had endowed the parish. In Schenectady, the Rev. John Doty ceased to hold public services after the Declaration of Independence, since he could no longer pray for the royal family. He was twice arrested, and the second time confined to the Albany jail. His church was ransacked. While in jail he was required to take an oath of neutrality. This he refused to do, but influential friends brought about his release, and he returned to Schenectady in 1777. After the surrender of Burgoyne a curious incident occurred. Through the instrumentality of General Gates he was offered a living in the colonies valued at two hundred pounds—a very good one for those days—but like the stiff non-juror that he was, he declined, and in October of that year escaped to Montreal.⁵⁸

More precarious was the situation of the Rev. John Stuart. At the opening of the war, the colonists hoped that the Mohawks might remain neutral. In 1775, a conference was held between the Mohawk sachems and the colonial commissioners for the Indian department. At this conference, the commissioners, in response to an earnest plea from the sachems, promised that Stuart should not be molested. But the Mohawks went on the warpath, and in the spring of 1777 Stuart was under strong suspicion of corresponding with the British. Only the appearance of Brant with an Indian band saved him from arrest by General Herkimer. The invasion of the Mohawk Valley by St. Leger brought matters to a crisis. An armed mob attacked the manse at Fort Hunter, looted the church, and forced Stuart to flee for his life to Schenectady. In 1778, he narrowly escaped being sent to Connecticut as a prisoner. He wrote to the Rev. William White:

"My Situation is rather disagreeable, being deserted by almost all my congregation. There remains only three families, the others having, at different times, joined the King's forces. I have not preached within these last two years." ⁵⁹

In 1780, the Mohawks were again in the valley, and Stuart took refuge in Albany. He was more than once in danger of mob violence. Finally, in 1781, he received permission to remove to Canada. Here, his faithful Indian communicants had preceded

⁵⁸Hanson, p. 84. ⁵⁹Lydekker, op. cit., Historical Magazine, Vol. XI (1942), p. 36.

him, bearing with them the altar vessels given by Queen Anne, and here he continued his work among Indians and whites, becoming "the Father of the Church in Upper Canada." With his departure, the last Anglican priest was gone from the territory of our study.

APPENDIX

RECTORS OF ST. PETER'S, ALBANY

Thomas Barclay, 1708-1725. John Miln, 1726-1737. Henry Barclay, 1738-1746. John Ogilvie, 1750-1764. Thomas Brown, 1764-1768. Harry Munro, 1768-1777. Thomas Ellison, 1787-1802. Frederick Beasley, 1803-1809. Timothy Clowes, 1813-1817. William B. Lacey, 1818-1832.

Horatio Potter, 1833-1854.
Thomas Clapp Pitkin, 1856-1862.
William T. Wilson, 1862-1866.
[William Tatlock, assistant, 1863-6.]
William Croswell Doane, 1867-1869.
William A. Snively, 1870-1874.
Walton W. Battershall, 1874-1912.
Charles C. Harriman, 1912-1939.
Erville B. Maynard, 1939-

RECTORS OF ST. GEORGE'S, SCHENECTADY

William Andrews, 1771-1773.

John Doty, 1774-1777.

Ammi Rogers, lay reader, 1791-1794.

Priest in charge, 1794.

Robert Wetmore, in charge of Schenectady and Duanesburg, 1798-1801.

Cyrus Stebbins, lay reader, 1804-1806.

Rector, 1806-1819.

Alonzo Potter, 1819-1820.

Alexis Proal, 1821-1836.
Albert Smedes, 1836-1839.
William H. Walter, assistant rector, 1839-1842.
John Williams, 1842-1847.
William Payne, 1848-1884.
J. P. B. Pendleton, 1885-1904.
B. W. Rogers Tayler, 1904-1924.
George F. Bambach, 1924-

RECTORS OF ST. JOHN'S, JOHNSTOWN

Richard Moseley, 1772-1774.
John Stuart, 1774-1776.
John Urquhart, 1796-1804.
Jonathan Judd, 1806-1812.
Eli Wheeler, 1812-1818.
Alexis Proal, 1818-1821.
Parker Adams, 1821-1829.
Amos C. Treadway, 1829-1832.
Ulysses M. Wheeler, 1833-1836.
Joseph Ransom, 1836-1839.
Salmon Wheaton, 1839-1844.
Charles Jones, 1844-1851.
George N. Sleight, 1851-1853.

Lewis P. Clover, 1853-1857.

William H. Williams, 1858-1860.
Charles Kellogg, 1861-1864.

James B. Murray, 1865-1870.

James Stuart, 1872-1875.
Charles C. Edmunds, Sr., 1875-1884.

John B. Hubbs, 1885-1890.

John N. Marvin, 1891-1895.
Calbraith B. Perry, 1895-1900.

Wolcott W. Ellsworth, 1900-1927.

Roscoe C. Hatch, 1928-1942.

Frederick H. Belden, 1942-

MISSIONARIES AT FORT HUNTER

Thoroughgood Moore, 1704-1705. Thomas Barclay, 1708-1712. William Andrews, 1712-1719.

Henry Barclay, 1735-1745. John Stuart, 1770-1778.

CHAPTER II

POST-WAR RENAISSANCE

Meanwhile, certain events were taking place outside our boundaries which were to have a vital effect on the revival of Church life within our territory. The clergy of the province had long been used to holding synodal assemblies; it was therefore easy and natural for them to organize after the war. In 1785, the convention of the diocese of New York first met; its organization was completed by the election of Samuel Provoost¹ as bishop, and by his consecration at Lambeth in 1787. True, he was no great leader of a reviving Church, but he at least was a bishop; he could confirm and ordain.

I. THOMAS ELLISON AND HIS ASSOCIATES

In St. Peter's, Albany, there were a number of influential laymen, who as soon as the war ended began looking toward a reopening of the church doors. In 1785, the Rev. John Doty, formerly of Schenectady, was in the city and there performed two baptisms.² The incident is important as showing that for churchmen, the wounds of the war were rapidly healing. In 1787, there arrived in Albany the Rev. Thomas Ellison, a young English priest, and on May 1 of that year he was called to be rector of St. Peter's.3 The fact that only four years after the end of a long and bitter war, the vestry of St. Peter's called an Englishman as their rector again indicates how Church feeling could triumph over nationalism. The funds of the S. P. G. being of course no longer available, the parish was now faced with the novel task of providing for the support of its rector. A subscription list was circulated, and a little under four hundred dollars a year was pledged for that purpose.4 This was in itself a long step forward.

On Christmas Day, 1787, the rector administered the Holy Communion to thirty communicants, noting that "this was the first time of its having been administered in St. Peter's Church

¹See below, Appendix II, No. 1, of this chapter, for a brief sketch of Provoost.
²Hooper, p. 131. See below, Appendix II, No. 2, for Doty's biography.
³Ibid., p. 131. See below, Appendix II, No. 3, for biographical note on Ellison.
⁴Hooper, p. 133.



THE REV. THOMAS ELLISON 1759—APRIL 26, 1802 RECTOR OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ALBANY 1787—1802

With the election of this young English priest as rector, May 1, 1787, "an impetus was given to the Church, and an era of prosperity began. The strong character of Mr. Ellison has left its impress on the parish of today. He was the careful guardian of every interest of the Church, a true missionary, a preacher of great power, a scholar of exactness and elegance, a teacher able and successful, a companion witty and agreeable."—THE REV. JOSEPH HOOPER.

THE REV. ROBERT G. WETMORE
MARCH 10, 1774—JANUARY 30,
1803

First Missionary of the Committee for Propagating the Gospel in the State of New York, 1797-1798

Rector of St. George's Church, Schenectady, 1798-1801



In one year he travelled 2,386 miles, performed divine service and preached, baptized 47 adults and 365 infants. "He so aroused the people from their lethargy, and excited them to a sense of their religious duties, that in the year following there were incorporated in the State seven new congregations, and Divine Service began to be performed in many places where people had never attempted it before."—BISHOP PHILANDER CHASE.



since the commencement of the Revolution." On Nov. 4, 1788, he sat in the diocesan convention for the first time. In 1789 he was chosen as a deputy to General Convention. Finally, on Sunday, September 11, 1791, Bishop Provoost preached in the parish church—the first time it had ever held a bishop within its walls.

"On Wednesday, September 14, the rector presented one hundred and forty-seven persons to receive the apostolic rite of laying on of hands. Grey haired men and maidens, welcomed the opportunity of receiving the seal of the Lord in confirmation. Among those confirmed there were eleven persons of colour." 5

With this, the future of St. Peter's was assured.

As the only priest living within the upper Hudson and Mohawk Valleys, it fell to the lot of Mr. Ellison to do a great deal of work outside the confines of his parish. In 1787 he preached to a congregation of churchmen in the Dutch church at Kinderhook. In the same year, he helped Mr. John Brown and others to repair the half ruined church at Schenectady, and for several years the parish was practically under his care. He recommended that the convention of the diocese recognize the church just coming into existence in Balltown. He was active in reclaiming the glebe at Fort Hunter, illegally seized during the War. In 1789 he made an extended trip to Unadilla, on which he reported to Bishop Provoest:

"The distance I went was one hundred and twelve miles, a journey of four days, through a very wild country, which afforded most uncomfortable accommodations; but it afforded me a very high degree of pleasure to find that many of our Church were scattered throughout, who would not relinquish the hope of being able at some, though perhaps a distant period, to see churches established."

Ellison's efforts at Schenectady rapidly bore fruit. In 1790 the parish was incorporated under the laws of the state of New York. By 1791 the parish was demanding more attention than Ellison could very well give it; and arrangement was therefore

⁵*Hooper*, p. 147. ⁶*Ibid.*, p. 141.

made that Ammi Rogers⁷, then working as a lay reader in the newly formed parish of Balltown (now Ballston Spa), should give half of his time to St. George's. This arrangement was improved when Rogers was ordered deacon in 1792. So effective was his work that between June, 1792, and October, 1793, the parish records show one hundred and thirty baptisms, twenty marriages, and five burials.⁸ On Sunday, September 18, Bishop Provoost extended his trip from Albany to make the first episcopal visitation at Schenectady. An ordination was held, and the next day fifty-three persons were confirmed.⁹ Rogers continued in charge of the parish until 1795, when for a time it fell back into the hands of Mr. Ellison.

Meanwhile a parish had been started in a neighboring village. whose fate for a time was to be tied to that of St. George's. The Hon, James Duane, first mayor of the city of New York, a vestryman of Trinity Parish, and a frequent delegate to the diocesan convention, had acquired some fifty thousand acres of wild land in the southern part of Schenectady County. Here he proposed to set up an estate after the model of the Dutch patroons. Like Johnson, he felt that a church was an essential part of his plan. He therefore erected Christ Church, Duanesburg, at a cost of 800 pounds or \$2,000, which was duly consecrated on August 25, 1793. The church still stands, practically the only one of the old churches of the diocese of Albany which has escaped the hands of the improver. It is a typical adapted meeting-house. The seats face across the long axis of the church, and are doored pews, with allevs at the side. Galleries extend around three sides, and the center of attention is a reading desk, over which towers a high pulpit, reached by a winding stair. The altar is tucked away in a corner.

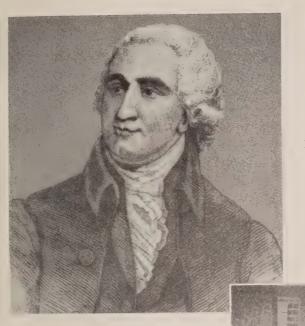
For two years, services were conducted here by Ellison and Rogers. In 1795, the Rev. David Belden¹⁰ became the first rector. In the same year the parish, which had been admitted to the diocese in 1789, was incorporated. Belden was succeeded in 1798 by the Rev. Robert Wetmore,¹¹ who also took care of St. George's. Ill health compelled him to leave in 1801 and for three years the parish of Schenectady was again vacant. In 1804 Cyrus Stebbins,

⁷See below, Appendix II, No. 11, for a biographical note on Rogers.

⁸Hanson, p. 93. ⁹*Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁰See below, Appendix II, No. 4, for biographical note on Belden.

¹¹Featherstonhaugh, *Church in the Wildwood*, pp. 19-24. For note on Wetmore, see below, Appendix II, No. 5.



THE HON. JAMES DUANE
FEBRUARY 6, 1732—FEBRUARY 1, 1797

THE INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH,
DUANESBURG, SCHENECTADY COUNTY,
NEW YORK, AS IT IS TODAY



James Duane was a distinguished lawyer, member of the Continental Congress, deputy to the first and second General Conventions of 1785 and 1786, Mayor of the City of New York, Federal Judge, a staunch and generous Churchman.

In 1793, in the darkest period of the history of the American Episcopal Church, he erected at his own expense (800 pounds or \$2,000.00, exclusive of the value of the ground which he also gave) Christ Church, Duanesburg, Schenectady County, New York. [See Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. V, pp. 465-466.]

He symbolizes the influence, zeal and generosity of the laity in the revival of the Episcopal Church following the Revolutionary War. The original church is still standing and in use.



a Methodist minister resident in Albany, was anxious to receive orders in the Episcopal Church. For two years he officiated acceptably in St. George's as a lay reader and deacon. So wellpleasing did he prove to be that on the recommendation of the parish he was ordained priest in 1806, and called as rector on April 22 of that year. 12 With him the established succession of rectors of St. George's may be said to begin.¹³

As we have noted, the church and glebe at Johnstown had been seized during the Revolution by our inveterate enemies of that period—the Presbyterians.14 This seizure was made legal by the legislature in 1793, when an act was passed granting the church and glebe to the trustees of the Presbyterian congregation. Episcopalians and Lutherans, however, were to be allowed the use of the church for eight Sundays in the year, provided ten of either group requested it. In 1796 the Rev. John Urguhart arrived at Johnstown to revive the work of the Episcopal Church there. 15 The parish was incorporated that year, and a fight began to regain the parish property. It is recorded that on one occasion Urguhart read the Episcopal service while the Presbyterian minister was preaching from the pulpit.16 In 1797 the legislature passed a compromise act, which gave the church to the rector, wardens, and vestry of St. John's, and the glebe to the Presbyterians. Presbyterians and Lutherans were also to have a limited use of the church building for three years. Eventually, the legislature granted the parish two thousand four hundred dollars as compensation for the loss of the glebe. Under Jonathan Judd, 17 who succeeded Urguhart in 1806, the ancient and partly ruined chapel at Fort Hunter was for a time re-opened for services. But the Mohawks were gone, the white

 ¹²Hanson, p. 110. See below, Appendix II, No. 6, for note on Stebbins.
 ¹³Duanesburg never fulfilled the hopes of its founder. After the death of James Duane, the family seems to have lost interest, the village never grew up, and the parish has been important mainly as a center for work at other points.

parish has been important mainly as a center for work at other points.

14June 6, 1790, Mr. Ellison preached in the courthouse at Johnstown, the Presbyterians refusing to deliver him the keys of S. John's Church. From Ellison's Notitia Parochialis, quoted in W. M. Reid, Ye History of St. Ann's Church in ye Amsterdam City, p. 12.

15In 1791 the Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver is listed in the journal of the diocesan convention as rector of "the united parishes at Johnstown and Fort Hunter." His

name never appears in the records at Johnstown, and it is probable that he never actually functioned. For notes on Oliver and Urquhart, see below, Appendix II, Nos.

 ¹⁶History of Montgomery and Fulton Counties, p. 95.
 ¹⁷See below, Appendix II, No. 9, for note on Judd.

population had shifted, and what might well be called the motherchurch of the diocese was finally abandoned. 18

II. EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH, PHILANDER CHASE, MISSIONARY

The remarkable expansion of the Episcopal Church in upstate New York, an expansion which began about 1790 and continued without slackening for three decades, was influenced by three factors. In 1791 a revival movement, known in American history as the "Second Awakening", started in Maine and swept like wild-fire throughout the inhabited portions of the United States. In this revival the Episcopal Church had its share. But revivals are of little use without organizations to gather in the fruits. In 1790 the convention of the diocese of New York began to show awareness of its missionary responsibility, directing by resolution that missionary donations should be solicited throughout the diocese. In 1797 a Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in the State of New York was elected to handle such funds as should be collected. This committee immediately began active functioning. But the chief of the three factors contributing to our expansion was the coming into our territory of three remarkable men—Philander Chase, Ammi Rogers and Daniel Nash.

One day in the fall of 1795, a tall, powerfully built young man. obviously of rural origin, walked up State Street, Albany, and knocked at the door of the Rev. Mr. Ellison. His name was Philander Chase, 19 he was recently graduated from Dartmouth College, he had made himself a convert by reading the Prayer Book, and he was now desirous of studying for holy orders. Ellison received him cordially, secured for him a teaching position in the city school, and gave him the run of a good theological library. Chase at once began as lay reader in the neighboring communities of Troy and Lansingburg. In Troy, "all the denominations then met in one house, and the afternoon of Sunday was assigned for the service of the Church."20 In 1798 he was ordained deacon, and at once commissioned by the Missionary Society of the State of New York to work in the northern and western parts of the state. Starting out from Troy, he worked up the Hudson, holding services at Waterford, Stillwater, Fort Edward, Kingsbury, and

^{18&}quot;June 8, 1790, Mr. Ellison preached in the forenoon at Fort Hunter. The Church is in a wretched condition, the pulpit, reading desk, and two pews only being left, the windows being destroyed, the floor demolished and the walls cracked." Quoted in W. M. Reid, History of St. Anne's Church, Amsterdam, p. 13.
19See below, Appendix II, No. 10, for biographical note on Chase.
20Philander Chase, Reminiscences (2 vols., 1848), Vol. I, pp. 19-21.

Lake George. From there he plunged into the Adirondack wilderness, and spent some time at Thurman's Patent, near Warrensburg, where he instituted a regular parish. Returning to Hampton, on the Vermont border, he staved several weeks and again organized a parish.

A second trip started from Albany and followed the Mohawk west. A stop was made at Indian Castle, where he preached in the dilapidated Indian church, and remarked that even the white churchmen there had become very few. Turning aside, he visited Johnstown, and "had the pleasure of beholding a goodly stone church with an organ."21 Going as far as Auburn, which takes him out of our bounds, he returned in a southeasterly direction to Burlington, in Otsego County, where he met and formed a lasting friendship with Father Nash, of whom we shall hear more in a few pages. With Nash he visited the neighboring missions, and then set out again by himself. At Ocwaga he erected a parish, and in Stamford contributed one hundred dollars of his salary toward building a church. At Batavia²² he organized a parish; then struck the Hudson at Athens. Hudson and New Lebanon were visited, and in 1799 he arrived back in New York, where he was ordained priest.²³ On this trip he had traveled about four thousand miles. baptized fourteen adults and three hundred and nineteen children. performed divine service and preached two hundred and thirteen times, and organized five new parishes.²⁴ Surely a year's work.

III. THE WORK OF AMMI ROGERS

Still more important for the growth of the Church in the future diocese was the work of that rather enigmatical figure, the Rev. Ammi Rogers²⁵ In the history of the diocese of Connecticut, he is accounted as one of the black sheep; he was eventually, after a stormy career, degraded from the priesthood, and imprisoned for a sexual crime; but within our territory his work was excellent and valuable. One of the many Yale graduates who were converts from Congregationalism, he came to Albany in 1791. Working under the Rev. Mr. Ellison at first, he was placed as lay reader in Ballston. Here a group of laymen had already, in 1787, organized themselves into a parish, and applied to the convention

²¹Philander Chase, Reminiscences (2 vols., 1848), Vol. I, p. 28.
²²Now Ashland, organized May 11, 1799. (History of Greene County, p. 199). Not to be confused with the present City of Batavia, N. Y.
²³Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 32-35.
²⁴Chase, Reminiscences, Vol. I, p. 37.
²⁵See below, Appendix II, No. 11, for biographical note.

of the diocese of New York to be admitted into union with it. Under Roger's energetic leadership, Christ Church, Ballston Center, was built in 1791; and at the same time Rogers was placed in temporary charge of St. George's, Schenectady. Ordained deacon by Bishop Provoost in 1792, he was at once called as rector of the church in Ballston. He was married and ordained priest in 1794. He thus summarized his work in this region:

"I had devoted myself entirely to the work of the ministry. In the county of Saratoga, my people had increased from about 14 families to about 4000 souls: they had built a new church in Ballston and finished it with an elegant steeple, bell and organ. They had become incorporate, and built a new church with a handsome steeple, in the town of Milton, and also in the town of Stillwater. In Waterford they had become a body corporate, and a large number had joined that society; a very respectable society was also collected in Charlton and in Galway, and in other parts of that county. I had some time before resigned my parish in Schenectady . . . and my labors were extended to Fort Hunter and to Johnstown." ²⁶

He claimed to have performed fifteen hundred and forty-two baptisms, two hundred marriages, and to have admitted four hundred to the Holy Communion. While his figures are to be accepted with caution, there is no question that his work was widespread and successful. Although the principal area of his work was in Saratoga County, we have seen from his own statement that he had a share in the revival of Johnstown; he officiated for a time in Schenectady; he had a hand in the organization of Zion Church, Morris. And in 1800 he made a missionary trip to the north country, visiting Chase's foundation at Thurman's Patent, and working also in Queensbury, now Glens Falls, and in Ticonderoga.²⁷ An evidence of the esteem in which he was held by his parishioners is shown by the following, quoted by Rogers in his *Memoirs*:

"At a meeting of the wardens and vestrymen of the several Episcopal churches in the county of Saratoga, viz.: in Ballston, Milton, Stillwater, Waterford, Charlton, Galway, and Providence, in the State of New York, duly warned and convened in Ballston, February 1st, 1800.

 ²⁶Ammi Rogers, Memoirs of the Rev. Ammi Rogers (Middlebury, 1830), p. 27.
 ²⁷A. W. Holden, History of the Town of Queensbury (Albany, 1874), p. 245.





Father Nash The Rev. Daniel Nash May 28, 1763—June 4, 1836

"His field was a difficult one, not only because it was frontier territory, but also because the settlers had Presbyterian traditions behind them; but Nash had great success. He lived in log cabins, was content with few possessions, traveled on horseback, often with his wife holding a child behind him. Her help in the music and responses, he testified, was invaluable . . . He established practically all the Episcopal churches of that [Otsego] county and extended his labors to some eight other counties. . . . He is supposed to have been the original of Rev. Mr. Grant in J. Fenimore Cooper's The Pioneers."—Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XIII, p. 386.

"Voted unanimously, That the thanks of the several churches in the county of Saratoga be presented to the Rev. Ammi Rogers for his unwearied labors and faithful services in the promotion of religion."28

In 1801, in an evil hour for himself, he resigned his charges and returned to Connecticut. On his way down the Hudson, finding that the people in Catskill were in process of erecting a church, he returned there later in the year and assisted in the completion of the work. In 1852, a disgraced and broken old man, he returned to Ballston to die.

The church at Ballston was thus the first new parish to be organized in our territory after the Revolution. The present parish is the result of an amalgamation. Rogers' parish was at Ballston Center. Here he was followed in rapid succession by Gamaliel Thatcher, 29 Jonathan Judd, 30 and Frederick Van Horne 31, who also ministered to the other parishes established by Rogers. In 1805, the Rev. Joseph Perry³² began to hold services at Ballston Spa, then becoming a celebrated watering place. In 1810, St. Paul's, Ballston Spa, was organized. Finally, in 1817, the two parishes of Ballston Center and Ballston Spa, were united as Christ Church, Ballston Spa.³³ The church building at Ballston Center was taken down and re-erected at Ballston Spa, and was consecrated August 11, 1818, by Bishop Hobart. Of the other parishes founded by Rogers, Waterford, Stillwater, and Charlton still exist. St. Paul's, Charlton, built in 1803, soon after Rogers' departure, remains in much its original state.

IV. FATHER NASH-BUILDER OF CHURCHES

The third of the great church builders of this era, and as far as the diocese of Albany is concerned, the greatest of all, was Daniel Nash.³⁴ Like many of the missionary pioneers of our country, he was a giant of a man, with the rugged health which was then an essential for successful missionary work. Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, he was converted from Con-

²⁸Memoirs of the Rev. Ammi Rogers, p. 28.

 ²⁸Memoirs of the Rev. Ammi Rogers, p. 28.
 29See below, Appendix II, No. 25, for note on Thatcher.
 30See below, ibid., No. 9, for sketch of Judd.
 31See below, ibid., No. 26, for further information about Van Horne.
 32See below, Appendix II, No. 12, for biographical note on Perry.
 33According to parish history, Milton was included in this merger. As a matter of fact, Milton had its own rector for at least two decades later. (John A. Howell, Year Book and Church Directory of Christ Church, Ballston Spa, 1927)
 34See below, Appendix II, No. 13, for biographical note on Nash.

gregationalism, possibly through the influence of Gideon Bostwick, whose work in Columbia County we have mentioned. He arrived in Otsego County in 1797, in deacon's orders, recently received at the hands of Bishop Provoost. Provoost, elegant, sluggish, and defeatist, endeavored to dissuade the young enthusiast from throwing himself away in the hardships of frontier life; whereupon Nash, to whom such supineness in the episcopate was disgusting, left in great indignation, vowing that he would not receive priest's orders at such hands. He was eventually ordained to the priesthood in 1801, when Provoost had been

succeeded by the saintly and sympathetic Moore.35

At Butternuts, in the southern part of Otsego County, Nash met a ready welcome. In 1778 Ichabod Palmer and Elnathan Noble had come into the section from Connecticut; like many Connecticut emigrants during this period, they brought with them a deep attachment to the Episcopal Church. No sooner had Palmer built his log cabin, than he made it a house of God. For years on every Sunday he gathered a group consisting of five communicants with their families, and conducted service for them as a lav reader.36 Among these was General Jacob Morris, who in 1793 went three hundred miles on horseback to attend the convention of the diocese in New York City as the representative of the "church in Otsego County." In 1793 the ubiquitous Ammi Rogers visited the place on an evangelizing trip. In 1796 the Rev. Daniel Burhans³⁷, a priest of the diocese of Connecticut, held some services here. It was apparently owing to his representations that Nash decided to come into this section. Nash lived at first at Exeter, a neighboring village, but his most important work was in Butternuts. Under his direction, and with considerable pecuniary aid from General Morris, Harmony Church was erected in 1801, a plain structure of unpainted wood. The parish soon developed into one of the strongest rural parishes in the state. But Nash, like Daniel Boone, was forever pushing on to new frontiers. He retained charge of Butternuts, which eventually changed its name to Morris, until 1814, when the Rev. Russell Wheeler, 38 locally known as "Priest" Wheeler, assumed charge of

³⁵Ralph Birdsall, *The Story of Cooperstown*, 1917, pp. 148-150. From Bishop Moore's register: "October 11, 1801—In St. George's Chapel, Mr. Daniel Nash, a deacon in the Church, was ordained priest. This is the first episcopal duty which lhave performed. By God's blessing, may it be beneficial to his church!" ³⁶K. M. Sanderson, *Zion Church Parish*, *Morris*, *New York*, 1901, p. 4.

M. Sanderson, Zion Church Parish, Morris, New York, 1901, p. 4
 See below, Appendix II, No. 14, for biographical sketch of Burhans.
 See below, Appendix II, No. 15, for Wheeler's biographical note.

Morris and Unadilla. By 1818 the parish had outgrown its first crude structure, and in that year a stone church was erected of the Gothic then just beginning to come in, and was consecrated the same year by Bishop Hobart. By 1820 Zion Church, Morris, had grown into so large a parish that Priest Wheeler moved here from Unadilla, and devoted practically all his time to the one place.³⁹

Meanwhile, Nash was reaching out elsewhere. In 1799 he was at Richfield, where he organized St. Luke's Church in a meeting held at Brewster's Tavern. At Cooperstown, where the Rev. Thomas Ellison of Albany had officiated in 1797, he found a rich field of labor. The Cooper family were staunch Episcopalians: the novelist had been a pupil of Ellison's. Nash's first service was at the funeral of Cooper's sister, in 1800. Between 1807 and 1810 the church building was in process of erection, largely through the generous support of the Cooper family. In 1811 the parish was formally organized. For a time Nash continued to be rector: eventually the parish became so prosperous that Nash moved on, though he held the title of rector for some years after his successor, the Rev. Frederick Tiffany, had assumed the actual charge of the parish.⁴⁰ At nearby Unadilla, St. Matthew's parish was organized in 1809. These three, Morris, Cooperstown, and Unadilla, constitute Nash's strongest foundations. But they by no means limit his sphere. He resided most of the time at Exeter, where he established St. John's Church, but after his death this died out. In Otsego County, he visited and held services at Springfield, Cherry Valley, Westford, Edmeston, Burlington, Hartwick, Fly Creek, Burlington Flatts, Laurens, Le Roy, Worcester, New Lisbon, Richfield Springs, and Warren. Pushing into Delaware County, he worked at Franklin and Stamford; in Montgomery County, at the modern Canajoharie. We even find him in the valley of the St. Lawrence, holding at Ogdensburg the first Episcopal services in St. Lawrence County. Twelve parishes and missions of the present diocese owe their foundation to his efforts.

In 1799 Philander Chase, then on his journey to the western part of the state, turned aside from his route expressly to visit Nash, of whom he had heard. The meeting between these two kindred pioneers and missionary heroes resulted in the formation of a deep and lasting friendship. In his *Reminiscences*, Chase gives an account of the meeting—an account which reveals both

Sanderson, Zion Church Parish, pp. 7-9.
 G. P. Keese, Historic Records of Christ Church, Cooperstown, 1899, pp. 3-7.

the profound churchmanship of the two men, and the hardships under which Nash labored.

"It was a meeting of two persons deeply convinced of the primitive and apostolic foundation of the Church to which. on account of its purity of doctrine and the divine right of its ministry, they had fled from a chaos of confusion of other sects. 41 They were both 'Missionaries', though the name was not yet understood or appreciated. The one had given up all his hopes of more comfortable living in the well-stored country at the east, and had come to Otsego County, to preach the gospel and build up the Church on apostolic ground, with no assurance of a salary but such as he could glean from the cold soil of unrenewed nature, or pluck from the clusters of the few scions which he might engraft into the vine Jesus Christ. He lived not in a tent, as the patriarchs did, surrounded with servants to tend his flocks, to milk his kine, and 'bring him butter in a lordly dish'; but in a cabin built of unhewn logs, with scarcely a pane of glass to let in light sufficient to read his Bible; and even this cabin was not his own, nor was he permitted to live in one for a long time together. All this was witnessed by the other, who came to see him and helped him carry his little articles of crockery, holding one handle of the basket and Mr. N. the other, and as they walked the road, 'talking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.'

"Well does the writer remember how the little one-roomed cabin looked as he entered it; how joyful that good man was that he had been mindful to fetch a few nails, which he had used in the other cabin just left, for his comfort in this, now the receptacle of all his substance. These he drove into the logs with great judgment, choosing the place most appropriate for his hat, his coat, and other garments of himself and family. All this while his patient wife, who directing the children to kindle the fire, prepared the food."

There is but little of exaggeration in the description of Nash's work by his contemporary, the Rev. Daniel Burhans: "Apostolic is the word for his sincerity, his heroic devotion, his complete self-abnegation. . . . He did more to extend the Episcopal Church than any other clergyman ever did in the United States."

⁴¹And yet Chase is frequently labelled "Low Churchman." ⁴²Chase, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, pp. 32-34.

V. INFLUENCE OF THE LAITY IN THE CHURCH'S REVIVAL

One notable fact about the growth of the Episcopal Church at the turn of the century emerges from our study—the large part the laity played in this revival. In several instances, as at Ballston and Morris, the initiative came entirely from the laymen; the priest moved in when he was sent for.

This was in part true of the start of the Church in Troy. In 1798, as we have noted, Philander Chase visited the growing village on his first missionary trip. Here he met a warm welcome from Eliakim Warren. In that same year Warren had moved to Troy from Norwalk, Connecticut, where he had been a devout and active churchman. He at once set about founding a parish in his new home. In 1804 his object was achieved. Lying just north of Troy on the Hudson was the sister village of Lansingburg, now a part of the city, but then the larger of the two. Bishop Moore suggested that a church be built midway between the two communities to care for the religious needs of both. But the laymen, with a combination of faith and courage, resolved to have two churches. In 1804, St. Paul's Church, Troy, and Trinity Church, Lansingburg, were incorporated, and the Rev. David Butler 43 was called as rector of both. St. Paul's had at the beginning three communicants—Warren himself, his wife Phoebe, and Lemuel Hawley. Work was at once started on the two buildings. Trinity Church, New York, assisted with its usual generosity, and in 1806 the two churches were, on consecutive days, consecrated by Bishop Moore.

The growth of St. Paul's was phenomenal. In 1820 it was found necessary to enlarge the church building; in eight years' time the parish had outgrown the enlarged structure, and in 1828 the present church, capable of seating eight hundred people, was completed. In the same year, Butler reported to the convention that the number of communicants was two hundred—more than in any other parish of the state outside of New York City. Two factors undoubtedly contributed largely to the growth of the parish. The first was stability in ministration. Butler was one of those steady, dependable, hard-working priests who probably accomplish more in the long run than many of more showy talents. He remained as rector until his retirement in 1834. The second factor was the continuing benefactions of the Warren family, who not only gave liberally to St. Paul's, but a few years

⁴³See below, Appendix II, No. 16, for biographical note on Butler.

later built and endowed the Church of the Holy Cross, with its parochial school. The writer of these pages attended General Theological Seminary under a scholarship founded by Eliakim Warren. From the seed planted at St. Paul's there eventually sprouted six other parishes in the city of Troy.

The growth of the sister parish in Lansingburg was less rapid.

but it was steady.

In 1810 the two places had grown too large to be managed by one priest. Across the Hudson from Lansingburg was the village of Waterford, where Ammi Rogers had formed a parish. This had apparently become inactive, and in 1810 a new parish was erected at that place, and the Rev. Parker Adams called as rector of both. He was followed by two exceptional men, the Rev. George Upfold, 44 later bishop of Indiana, and the Rev. Benjamin Dorr, 45 under whom the parishes were placed on a firm footing.

VI. OTHER CENTERS OF GROWTH

We have indicated the main lines of growth during this period. But the growth is by no means confined to these main lines. Episcopalianism was in the air; and here and there throughout the territory groups of churchmen were busy organizing themselves into parishes, searching for priests, erecting buildings.

One such beginning was at Claverack Landing, now Hudson. We have recounted the queer story of the petition of the Palatines settled there for a parish of the Church of England. We have noted the missionary work of the Rev. Gideon Bostwick⁴⁶ in Columbia County. Throughout the Revolution, Bostwick seems to have been undisturbed, and in 1785 he was holding services at schoolhouses in the newly incorporated city of Hudson.⁴⁷ Under him, an effort was made to build a church; for five years a campaign for funds went on. When it had progressed to the point where enough was on hand to build, a resident clergyman was called. This was the Rev. Walter C. Gardiner, 48 who came to Hudson in 1794, and whose ministrations extended to Claverack, Athens, and Catskill.⁴⁹ The parish was formally organized in 1795, and called St. Paul's. This promising beginning came to an untimely end. Gardiner quarreled with the vestry over a money

49 Griswold, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴⁴See below, Appendix II, No. 17, for biographical note on Upfold.
⁴⁵See below, Appendix II, No. 18, for biographical note on Dorr.
⁴⁶See below, Appendix II, No. 19, for a biographical sketch of Bostwick.
⁴⁷Griswold, S. M., Centennial of Christ Church, Hudson, New York, 1902, p. 11.
⁴⁸See below, Appendix II, No. 20, for biographical note on Gardiner.

matter and left.⁵⁰ For a few years services were occasionally held by a priest named Hinley, who conducted a school in the city.

On May 5, 1802, came the real beginning of the Church in Hudson. At a meeting held on that date, Christ Church was organized; on June 28 of the same year the Rev. Bethel Judd,⁵¹ who had helped in the work of organization, was called as rector. In the same month, Bishop Moore visited the parish, and work was commenced on the church building.⁵² On Christmas Day of that year the church was sufficiently finished to be usable, and the first service was held in it. A substantial grant from Trinity Church, New York, cleared off the building debt, and on October 2, 1803, the church was consecrated by Bishop Moore.⁵³ Under Mr. Judd's energetic direction, in 1803 the "Episcopal Sunday Charity School" was established, the first provision for free education in the city, and the first Sunday School in the state outside the city of New York. An indication of the strength of the parish is the fact that in 1804 and 1805 fifty-five persons were presented for confirmation.54

Mr. Judd left Hudson in 1807 to become rector of Anne Arundell parish in Maryland and principal of St. John's College. 55 In 1812 we find him in Fairfield, in Herkimer County. taking part in an exceedingly ambitious venture. In 1803 an academy had been opened in that place under Presbyterian auspices. Fairfield had been a noted tory center during the Revolution, and practically destroyed. It was resettled by immigrants from Connecticut, and as usual, immigrants from Connecticut brought the Church with them. In December, 1806, the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin, 56 missionary at Utica, visited the village and held there the first service of the Episcopal Church in Herkimer County. In January, 1807, the parish of Trinity Church, Fairfield, was organized, and a building was erected which was consecrated by Bishop Moore in the same year. When Judd became rector, he also became principal of the academy. Trinity Church, New York, granted the parish \$750 per annum, on condition that four divinity students every year be taken into the academy and given free theological instruction. This was the

 ⁶⁰Griswold, op. cit., p. 12.
 ⁵¹See below, Appendix II, No. 21, for biographical sketch of Judd.

⁵²Griswold, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 16. ⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 20. ⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 20. ⁵⁶See below, Appendix II, No. 27, for biographical note on Baldwin.

second attempt in the American Episcopal Church to provide

institutional teaching for candidates for Holy Orders.

It was a daring project for that remote country, but the prospects were excellent until two successive blows were struck at it. Judd was succeeded in 1814 as rector and principal by the Rev. Virgil H. Barber,⁵⁷ a priest from Connecticut. In 1816 he resigned the parish, and in the following year seceded to the Roman Church, entering the Society of Jesus, while his wife became a Visitation nun. This handicap might have been overcome. His successor, the Rev. Daniel McDonald, 58 was an exceptionally competent educator. But Bishop Hobart felt that the location was not the strategic one for a Church seminary, and in accordance with his decision, McDonald left in 1821 to organize Hobart College and the branch seminary which was for a time connected with it. The grant from Trinity, New York, was therefore withdrawn. The secondary school continued to operate, however, in close connection with the parish, and Fairfield became the missionary center from which were established all the later parishes in Herkimer County. The subsequent history of Fairfield is rather melancholy. The seminary was eventually killed by the rise of the public high school; and the village which had grown up around it dwindled away. All that is left today are a crossroads with a dozen houses, and the old wooden church, which stands, except for the addition of a chancel, as it was built in 1807, attended by a handful of faithful communicants.

One other beginning of this period must be given separate mention. In 1795 a group of Episcopal laymen of the towns of Stamford, Harpersfield and Kortright, in Delaware County, met and organized St. Peter's Church. 59 The parish register shows baptisms performed in the previous year by the Rev. Ebenezer Dibble, 60 "missionary in the town of Stamford" [Connecticut]. Here again we see evidence of the influence of Connecticut churchmen. Stamford, New York, was named after Stamford, Connecticut, and they sent for their former rector to baptize their children, no other priest being readily available. Immediately upon organization, the parish applied for admission into union with the convention, and provisionally placed itself under the care and inspection of the rector of St. Peter's, Albany, although

⁶⁷See below, Appendix II, No. 22, for biographical note on Barber.
⁵⁸See below, ibid., No. 23, for further data on McDonald.
⁵⁹R. H. Barnes, History of St. Peter's Church, Hobart, New York, 1881.
⁶⁰See below, Appendix II, No. 24, for biographical sketch of Dibble.



THE FIRST ST. PETER'S CHURCH 1715—1803 ALBANY

This edifice stood in the middle of what is now State Street. It was completed and opened, November 25, 1716.

The first Rector, the Rev. Thomas Barclay, was a Scotsman, ordained priest by the Bishop of London in 1707. The next year he was appointed Chaplain to the Albany garrison, and in 1709 S. P. G. Missionary at Albany. For a time he read the English Liturgy in Dutch and preached in Dutch.

The replacement of the above building by the SECOND ST. PETER'S in 1803, a much larger and more pretentious edifice, indicates how substantial was the revival of the Church in Albany and upstate New York by that time.

OLD ST. PETER'S CHURCH HOBART, DELAWARE COUNTY

The parish was incorporated December 8, 1794. The church was completed in 1801, and the first service in it was held on Christmas Day of that year. It is still in use. The building was consecrated September 2, 1819, by Bishop John Henry Hobart, after whom the town was named. This parish is the "Mother Church" of St. John's, Delhi; Grace Church, Stamford; and St. Paul's, Bloomville.



the Rev. Walter C. Gardiner, of Hudson, was actually in charge of the work, and in 1796 became rector. In 1797 the Rev. Robert Wetmore, of Duanesburg, visited the parish, and the vestry asked that he might be assigned to them as rector. But he was unable to accept the call, and the parish remained vacant. In 1799 Philander Chase stopped here in the return half of his missionary trip to the western part of the state, and it was proposed that he should reside with them. Again they failed to secure a resident priest, but undiscouraged, the laymen went on with their plans. In 1801 they began the erection of a church building, a wooden structure of the meeting-house type, not unlike Christ Church, Duanesburg in outward appearance. Finally, in 1802, the Rev. Joseph Perry became rector of the parish. In 1828 the village changed its name to Hobart, in honor of the bishop.

This chapter, if it does nothing else, at least bears witness to two facts. The first is the surprising initiative shown by the Church laity of this period. Ballston, Morris, Duanesburg, Hobart—all owed their beginning to the determination of lay people to have the services of their beloved Church. The second is the inherent vitality of the Episcopal Church at the end of a century notorious for religious laxity and decay. When the Treaty of Paris was signed, in 1783, there were within the present limits of the diocese of Albany five buildings belonging to the Church; St. Peter's, Albany, St. George's, Schenectady, St. John's, Johnstown, and the chapels at Fort Hunter and Indian Castle. All were closed. By 1790, only one had revived; the only resident priest was the Rev. Thomas Ellison of St. Peter's, Albany, and he had come from England after the war. By 1810, the picture had completely changed. Twenty-five parishes or mission stations were in existence, operating and growing. priest had changed to fourteen. Ten new buildings had been completed, and others were in process of erection. The Church, like her Master, had experienced a resurrection.61

⁶¹Charles C. Tiffany's classic characterization of the period from the end of the Revolution to 1810 as the "period of suspended animation" is plainly untrue of upstate New York.

APPENDIX I

A TABLE TO SHOW THE GROWTH OF PARISHES WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY TO 1810

Queen Anne Chapel, Fort Hunter 1704 1712	
Wileen Anne Chaper, For Humber	6
St. Peter's, Albany 1708 1787† 1716	
St. George's, Schenectady 1765 1792† 1769	9*
St. John's, Johnstown 1770 1796† 1760	0-6
Christ, Ballston 1787 1787 1799	_
St. James, Milton 1790 1796	
	0.8
Christ, Duanesburg 1793 1789 1793	
St. Peter's, Hobart 1794 1796 1813	-
St. John's, Stillwater 1795 1796 1827	7
Christ, Hudson 1794 1794 1803	3
Trinity, Waterford 1796 1810	
Christ, Hampton 1798 1813† 1813	2
St. Luke's, Richfield 1799 1803 1800	3
Trinity, Ashland 1799 1826† 181	8
St. Luke's, Catskill 1801 1802 180	1
Zion, Morris 1801 1793† 180	1
St. Paul's, Charlton 1803 1810† 180	
St. Paul's, Troy 1804 1807† 180	
Trinity, Lansingburg 1804 1807† 180	и
Trinity, Athens 1806 1806 181	
Christ, Coxsackie 1806 1806 185	
Christ, Coasackie 1800 1800 1800	,0
Trinity, Fairfield 1807 1807 180)7*
St. Paul's, Oak Hill 1809 1816 183	34*
St. Matthew's, Unadilla 1809 1810 181	13

^{*}Original building still in use.

APPENDIX II

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF CLERGYMEN MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

(1) SAMUEL PROVOOST (March 11, 1742-September 6, 1815). Consecrated first bishop of New York, February 4, 1787, by the English archbishops; third in the American line. Resigned jurisdiction, 1801. See E. C. Chorley, Samuel Provoost, First Bishop of New York, in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Vol. II (1933), June (pp. 1-25), September (pp. 1-16).

(2) JOHN DOTY (May 8, 1745-November 3, 1841). Born in Albany, New York. King's College, three years. Ordained deacon, October 23, 1770; priest January 1, 1771, by Dr. Philip Yonge, bishop of Norwich. S. P. G. missionary in province of New York. After the war he served the Church in Canada, dying at the age

[†]No formal evidence of admission. Date conjectured.

of 96. See J. W. Lydekker, The Reverend John Doty, in Historical Magazine of The Episcopal Church, Vol. VII (1938), pp. 287-300.

(3) THOMAS ELLISON (1759-April 26, 1802) was born in England and educated at the University of Cambridge. He was ordained deacon, July 7, 1782, by Dr. William Markham, archbishop of York; priest, September 19, 1784, by Dr. John Egerton, bishop of Durham. "He was a man of great wit, of a genial disposition, and a favorite in social life." He was a preacher of great gifts, and above all, an organizer of signal ability. His friend, Philip Schuyler Van Rensselaer, afterwards mayor of Albany, inscribed upon his tombstone these words: "His Christian, social and liberal virtues have left an impression on his affectionate Congregation, and on all who knew him, warm and durable." His early death was a great loss to the Church.

(4) DAVID BELDEN (July 16 (or 19), 1764-March 2, 1832.) Yale, 1785. Ordained deacon by Bishop Seabury, September 21, 1786; never priested. Ill health (he died of consumption) compelled him to relinquish the active ministry and he retired to his farm in Wilton, Connecticut, where he died in his 68th year. See F. B.

Dexter, Yale Biographies, IV., p. 386.

(5) ROBERT GRIFFITH WETMORE (March 10, 1774-January 30, 1803), a lawyer of New Rochelle, New York, who was ordered deacon, May 21, 1797, and priest, June 10, 1798, by Bishop Provoost. Hon. M. A., Columbia, 1798. As missionary in upstate New York he traveled in one year 2,386 miles; performed divine service and preached 107 times; baptized 46 adults and 365 children; and distributed a large number of copies of the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Chase wrote of him: "He so roused the people from their lethargy, and excited them to a sense of their religious duties, that in the year following there were incorporated in the State seven new congregations, and divine services began to be performed in many places where people never attempted it before" (Chase's Reminiscences, I, p. 37). This record undermined Wetmore's health, which he never regained. He died in Savannah, Georgia, in his 29th year. The relatively high death rate among the clergy at this time was one of the factors in retarding the Church's recovery. "Consumption" was then the great white plague among both clergy and laity.

(6) CYRUS STEBBINS (died February 8, 1841). Ordained deacon, April 28, 1805, by Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York, and priest, August 24, 1806, by the same bishop. Professor Thomas Church Brownell of Union College was baptized by Stebbins in 1813. Six years later Brownell was consecrated bishop of Connecticut. In 1820 Stebbins became rector of Christ Church, Hudson. After nearly ten years there, he passed the remainder of his life in Grace Church, Waterford, and St. John's, Cohoes. Bishop Onderdonk in his convention address of 1841 characterized Stebbins as "a devout Christian, a faithful minister of Jesus, and a divine

of more than ordinary qualifications and ability."

(7) THOMAS FITCH OLIVER (1749-January 25, 1797). Native of Salem, Massachusetts. Served as a Congregational minister at Pelham, Massachusetts. Joined the Episcopal Church and served as layreader in St. John's Church, Providence, Rhode Island, during last years of the Revolutionary War. Ordained deacon, August 7, 1785, and priest, September 16, 1785, by Bishop Seabury—one of the first ordinations at the hands of an American bishop. St. Michael's, Marblehead, Massachusetts, 1786-1791. In 1795 he became rector of St. Thomas' Church, Baltimore, where he died two years later, aged 48 years.

(8) JOHN URQUHART (died c. 1814). Ordered deacon, October 18, 1795, by Bishop Provoost. His last cure was that of Peekskill and Garrison, held jointly.

(9) JONATHAN JUDD (died April 5, 1838, aged 56). Ordered deacon February 8,1804, by Bishop Moore of New York; priest, June 24, 1807, by the same bishop. "Under the vigorous efforts of the Rev. Jonathan Judd, the present edifice of Trinity Church, Utica, was erected at a cost of \$4,200, and consecrated by Bishop Moore September 7, 1806." [C. W. Hayes, The Diocese of Western New York (Rochester, 1904), p. 31.] For further evidence of Judd's missionary activity, see Journal of the Diocese of New York, 1804. On November 3, 1806, Judd became rector of St. John's Church, Johnstown, where he remained for six years. Like others at that time, he was often schoolmaster as well as parson. In 1813 he was called to St. John's, Stamford, Connecticut, with additional care of New Canaan and Greenwich. In 1822 he began his last rectorship—that of Great Choptank Parish, Dorchester County, Maryland, where he died.

(10) PHILANDER CHASE (December 14, 1775—September 20, 1852). Youngest of fourteen children. Reared a Congregationalist. First bishop of Ohio, 1819-1831; first bishop of Illinois, 1835-1852. Founder of two colleges: Kenyon in Ohio, and Jubilee in Illinois. See William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, V., 453-462; Reminiscences, 2 vols.; Dictionary of American Biography, IV, 26-27;

George F. Smythe, History of the Diocese of Ohio.

(11) AMMI ROGERS (May 26, 1770—April 10, 1852). Born in Branford, Connecticut. Yale, 1790. Ordained deacon, June 24, 1792, and priest, October 19, 1794, by Bishop Provoost. See F. B. Dexter, Yale Biographies, IV., 686-690; E. E. Beardsley, History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, II (index passim).

(12) JOSEPH PERRY (1778-December 13, 1829). Ordained deacon, October 19, 1802; priest, December 13, 1802; by Bishop Jarvis. Perry was an untiring worker, and under him there was progress and great harmony in the parishes he served. He was officially in charge of St. Peter's, Hobart, from his ordination until 1810. He extended his labors to Windham and other places in Greene County. For nine years, 1810-1819, he was rector of Christ Church, Ballston; and in the latter year he moved to Connecticut, where he was successively rector of Christ Church, East Haven, and Christ Church, West Haven, until 1826. "Mr. Perry was a man who endured the hard life of a pioneer priest in a new country. He wrought persistently and well for the spiritual good of the people. He had the grace of humility, and never sought ease or prominence."

(13) DANIEL NASH (May 28, 1763—June 4, 1836). Yale, 1785. Ordered deacon, February 8, 1797, by Bishop Provoost; priest, October 11, 1801, by Bishop Moore. See Dexter, Yale Biographies, IV, 431-432; Sprague, V, 433-440; D. A. B.,

XIII, 386.

(14) DANIEL BURHANS (July 7, 1763—December 30, 1853). Born at Sherman, Connecticut, and reared in the Congregational Church. Although largely self-taught, his learning was such that Trinity College conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity in 1831. While a teacher in Lanesborough, Massachusetts, he read himself into the Episcopal Church, receiving his first communion on Whitsunday, 1783. Under the supervision of the Rev. Gideon Bostwick (see below) he served as lay reader and studied theology. On June 5, 1793, he was ordered deacon, and on June 8, 1794, priest, by Bishop Seabury. He succeeded Bostwick at Great Barrington and Lanesborough, and during the ensuing six years founded two other churches—at Lenox, Massachusetts, and New Lebanon, New York. His other cures, all in Connecticut, were: Newton, 1799-1830; Woodbury, Roxbury, and Bethlehem, 1830-1831; Plymouth, 1831-1837; Oxford and Zoar, until 1844. In the latter year, at the age of 81 and in the 51st of his ministry, he retired to Poughkeepsie, New

York. The vigor of his mind and body was retained, and his theological studies continued, almost to the last. He assisted at the Eucharist only the month before he died. At the time of his death, aged 90 years and six months, he was the oldest clergyman in the American Episcopal Church. He was four times married, his fourth wife surviving him. See Sprague, V, 410-414.

(15) RUSSELL WHEELER (May 2, 1783—February 18, 1861). Williams College, 1803. Ordained deacon, June 9, 1805; priest, June 4, 1807; by Bishop Jarvis

of Connecticut.

(16) DAVID BUTLER (1763—July 11, 1842). Born at Harwinton, Connecticut, and reared a Congregationalist. Served in the Continental army, and then engaged in business after the war. Ordained deacon, June 10, 1792; priest, June 9, 1793; by Bishop Seabury. Washington (now Trinity) College, D. D., 1832. Served St. Michael's, Litchfield, Connecticut, 1794-99; Reading, Connecticut, 1799-1804. See Sprague, V, 389-391.

(17) GEORGE UPFOLD (May 7, 1796—August 26, 1872.) Born in England, emigrating to America when eight years of age. Union College, 1814; College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, 1816. Ordered deacon, October 21, 1818, and priest July 13, 1820, by Bishop Hobart. Rector successively of Trinity, Lansingburg; St. Luke's and St. Thomas', New York City; Trinity Church, Pittsburgh. Con-

secrated bishop of Indiana, December 16, 1849.

(18) BENJAMIN DORR (1796—September 18, 1869). One of the six graduates of the first class from the General Theological Seminary. Ordered deacon, June 25, 1820, by Bishop Hobart. First secretary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society following its reorganization in 1835. Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1837-1859.

(19) GIDEON BOSTWICK (September 21, 1742—June 13, 1793). Born in New Milford, Connecticut, and reared a Congregationalist. Yale, 1762, where he became an Episcopalian. Ordained deacon February 24, 1770, and priest, March 11, 1770, by Bishop Terrick of London. Resided the rest of his life in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, which he made the center of his wide missionary labors. During his ministry he baptized 81 adults and 2,244 children. See Dexter, Yale Biographies,

II, 731-733; Sprague, V, 274-277.

- (20) WALTER CLARKE GARDINER (died 1810) was a physician in Naragansett, Rhode Island. When the parish there fell vacant, the vestry requested him to seek holy orders. In doing so he ignored Bishop Seabury, who had jurisdiction in Rhode Island, and was ordered deacon on June 24, 1792, by Bishop Provoost of New York. This act led to the passage of Canon 8 against intrusion by the General Convention of 1795. Gardiner convulsed every parish he served with some dispute. Following such a dispute in Rhode Island, he resumed the practice of medicine in Catskill, New York. On August 17, 1794, he was elected rector of Hudson, New York; and on October 26, 1796, Bishop Provoost advanced him to the priesthood. The next year he left Hudson, and in the ensuing thirteen years held cures in Dover, Delaware; in Coventry, Somerset County, Maryland; and in Virginia.
- (21) BETHEL JUDD (May, 1776—April 8, 1858). Yale, 1797. Ordained deacon, September 30, 1798, by Bishop Jarvis; priest, November 22, 1801, by Bishop Provoost. Had a varied career. Instrumental in organizing the diocese of North Carolina, 1817. See, Dexter, Yale Biographies, V, 292-295.
- (22) VIRGIL H. BARBER. Ordained deacon June 9, 1805; priest, September 20, 1807, by Bishop Jarvis. He contended that lay baptisms were invalid and mem-

orialized the General Convention of 1811 to procure a declaration to that effect. It was not forthcoming. In the Roman Church it is not uncommon for physicians and midwives to baptize. "It is a well known property of extremes," said Bishop White in his *Memoirs* concerning this incident, "that they are often seen making the connecting points of a circle." Barber was deposed in 1817.

(23) DANIEL McDONALD (c. 1786—March 25, 1830). Reared a Quaker. After attending Middlebury College for a time, he entered the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Connecticut, 1802-1806. Ordained deacon March 18, 1810; priest, December 20, 1812; by Bishop Jarvis. Columbia, Hon. S. T. D., 1821. See Sprague, V,

525-530.

(24) EBENEZER DIBBLE (c. 1715—May 9, 1799). Yale, 1734. D. D., Columbia, 1793. Served as a Congregational minister until 1745. Layreader in the Episcopal Church for three years. Ordained August or September, 1748, in England. Served Stamford, Connecticut, for the rest of his life, and made it a center for his missionary journeys, which were very fruitful. See Dexter, Yale Biographies, I, 507-509.

(25) GAMALIEL THATCHER (d. 1806) was ordained deacon June 8, 1800, by Bishop Jarvis of Connecticut, and priest June 3, 1801, by the same bishop. In the latter year he became rector of Christ Church, Ballston, New York. In June 1804, the Committee for Propagating the Gospel of the diocese of New York engaged him as a missionary. He conducted services at Schenectady, Johnstown, Stillwater, Schaghticoke, Ballston, Utica, Litchfield, and Milton. On August 14, 1804, he organized Trinity Church, Utica. The committee reported: "Mr. Thatcher appears to have diligently laboured" (Journal of the Diocese of New York, 1804). His early death was untimely.

(26) FREDE RICK VAN HORNE (d. about 1834) was ordered deacon on February 16, 1793, by Bishop Provoost. The record of his ordination to the priesthood has not been found. His first cure was St. Andrew's Church, Orange County, New York. In 1805 he became rector of Christ Church, Ballston, and was in charge of the adjacent churches in Charlton, Milton, and Stillwater. From 1807 until his death he had no cure, and is listed in the General Convention journals from 1808 to 1832

as "residing at Coldenham, Orange County, New York."

(27) AMOS GLOVER BALDWIN (d. December 25, 1844, aged 66) was ordered deacon September 7, 1806, by Bishop Moore of New York. Sometime between October, 1807, and October, 1808, Bishop Moore ordained him to the priesthood. He served Trinity Church, Utica, from 1806 to 1818, and was also a missionary of the Committee for Propagating the Gospel. "The Committee has every reason to be satisfied with the assiduity and zeal with which Mr. Baldwin appears to have discharged the duties of his mission" (Journal, 1807). While in Ogdensburg, New York, Baldwin wrote a letter published in the Philadelphia Recorder of October 4, 1823, favoring a theological school in the West. This was publicly espousing the cause of Bishop Chase of Ohio as against Baldwin's own diocesan, Bishop Hobart. Both of these bishops were then in England; Chase was seeking money there for his school, Hobart was opposing the project. Large parts of Baldwin's letter were quoted in the English Evangelical publication, the Christian Guardian. Chase regarded this article as "the entering wedge to the public," and he came home with a large sum of money. The diocese of New York must have become uncomfortable to Baldwin, for in 1829 he was in Ohio. After Hobart died in 1830, Baldwin became a missionary in Turin, Lewis County, Western New York, and later in Aurora, Cayuga County. He died in Auburn, New York.

CHAPTER III

FIVE DECADES OF GROWTH

I. THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP HOBART

THE consecration, on May 29, 1811, of John Henry Hobart as assistant bishop of New York marked the beginning of an epoch in the life of the whole American Church. I have elsewhere recorded my estimate of Hobart and of his contribution to the Church as a whole.¹ Here we need consider him only in relation to upstate New York. Bishop Provoost had been, of course, the proverbial King Log. Utterly without missionary interest, with little conception of the function of the bishop as a leader, he did nothing for the extension of the Church in our area. Bishop Moore had been much more useful, first as chairman of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in the State of New York, later as an effective diocesan. Twice he made extended visitations upstate; in 1809 he held confirmations at Hudson, Albany, Troy, Lansingburg, Schenectady, Athens and Catskill. In 1810, going farther west he reached Richfield, Exeter, Butternuts, Cooperstown, Fairfield, and Johnstown. But Hobart was a man of exhaustless energy, far-reaching plans, a born executive and leader, and a thorough believer in the missionary commission of the Church.

The new life given to the missionary work of the diocese by his inspiring leadership can be perceived even in the dull and summary pages of convention journals. In every one of Hobart's addresses to the convention there is an emphasis on missionary work, a singling out of individual missionaries for commendation. The record of his visitations is appalling. In 1812 he was at Milton, Charlton, Stillwater, Albany, Fairfield, Richfield, Unadilla, Stamford, Troy, Lansingburg, Ballston, Schenectady, Duanesburg, Butternuts, Waterford, Athens, Hudson, and Catskill. The following year his itinerary extended to include Rensselaerville, Durham, Windham, Cooperstown, Sandy Hill, Hampton, Fly Creek and Burlington. No sooner was a new work opened up than the bishop was on hand, to give the missionary and his people tangible evidence of the interest and back-

¹George E. DeMille, The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1941), pp. 9-14.

ing of their spiritual leader. In 1816 he consecrated Trinity, Granville, and traveled up to far distant Ticonderoga. In 1818 he was in the valley of the St. Lawrence, consecrating the church at Waddington. In 1826 he was at Plattsburg. In the month of September, 1819, he visited Waterville, Rensselaerville, Albany, Troy, Lansingburg, Waterford, Stillwater, Sandy Hill, Granville, Hampton, Johnstown, Athens, and Catskill, besides other places west of the present limits of the diocese. This would make a respectable month's work for a modern bishop driving his Packard over cement roads; Hobart's traveling was done mainly in horse and buggy; occasionally he records having to walk from place to place.

Hobart's energy was reinforced by his strategy. The work of the earlier missionaries—Nash and Rogers, had been sporadic. They had felt the call, and had responded pretty much on their own. But Hobart had a plan; under him men were sent to strategic points. In 1814 there were four men in the field wholly or partly supported by the diocese: Nash in Otsego County, Samuel Fuller in Rensselaerville, Russell Wheeler at Unadilla, and James Thompson in Greene and Delaware counties. 1824 the number had grown to nine. It had long been a rule of the convention that missionaries should make a yearly report to convention of the progress of their work. Such reports never appear in convention journals, except as they were summarized in the report of the Committee for Propagating the Gospel, until the episcopate of Hobart. From 1811 on such reports are full and informative, and enable one to trace very accurately the advance of missionary work.

THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK

As every parish priest, and particularly every missionary priest, well knows, we live in a world of economics, where spirituality is often conditioned by the state of the bank account. The missionary zeal of Chase and Nash and Rogers, plus all the strategy of Hobart, would never have accomplished the results chronicled in these two chapters had they not been backed by dollars and cents. It was a fortunate thing for the Church in upstate New York that the diocese held within its confines the wealthiest ecclesiastical corporation in the United States, Trinity Church, New York, and that the authorities of that corporation considered their wealth a trust to be administered for the benefit of the Church at large. I have had occasion to mention, in the preceding chapter, some of the grants made by Trinity to parishes within our limits; but some ampler

treatment and fuller acknowledgment is necessary.

The grants begin in 1797, when 150 copies of the Book of Common Prayer were given to Christ Church, Duanesburg, and 50 to Christ Church, Ballston. Personal appropriations were made to the Rev. Daniel Nash, the Rev. R. G. Wetmore, the Rev. Cyrus Stebbins, the Rev. Joseph Perry, the Rev. Jonathan Judd, the Rev. David Butler, the Rev. John Urguhart, and the Rev. Moses Burt—gifts that must have been of inestimable value to men laboring as they labored under conditions often of direct poverty. Between 1796 and 1802, Christ Church, Hudson. received \$3.500—without which it is doubtful if that noble parish would ever have been started. Grants of nearly \$8,000 played. a large part in the revival of St. Peter's, Albany. St. Paul's. Troy, received \$2,000. Between 1797 and 1830, the recorded grants of Trinity Church to churches and priests within the confines of the present diocese of Albany totaled almost an exact fifty thousand dollars—and that at a time when fifty thousand dollars meant far more than the same sum would today. The parishes which thus benefited by the generosity of the corporation were Hudson, Albany, Hobart, Salem, Ballston, Duanesburg, Milton, Burlington, Otsego, Catskill, Schenectady, Lansingburg, Waterford, St. Paul's, Troy, Charlton, Cooperstown, Johnstown, Fairfield, Rensselaerville, Hampton, Athens, and Ashland. It is well that these obligations should be recorded.

So lavish and unselfish were the grants made by Trinity under the administration of Bishop Hobart that on his death the corporation found itself facing serious financial difficulties, and a policy of retrenchment had to be instituted. Nevertheless, the following decades saw substantial grants still being made to missionary enterprises. In 1831, Delhi received \$950; in 1833, St. Paul's, Albany, \$5,000—a sum many times repaid by the beneficiary when that parish in turn was able to help others; in 1835 Little Falls was given \$1,500, and Cohoes \$500. But again we must summarize. Between 1831 and 1855, besides the grants we have mentioned above, gifts were made to Cairo, Gilberts-ville, Walton, Oak Hill, Morristown, St. John's, Troy, Potsdam, Mechanicsville, Saratoga, Watervliet, Amsterdam, Christ, Troy, Cherry Valley, Fort Edward, Malone, Ticonderoga, Stockport,

Trinity, Albany, Schuylerville, Whitehall, Kinderhook, Norfolk, Canton, Grace, Albany, Hudson Falls, Sharon Springs, and Rensselaer. Truly a noble record.²

III. IN WASHINGTON COUNTY

The work of the Episcopal Church in Washington County began with the first missionary journey of Philander Chase, in 1798. In the course of that journey Chase visited Hampton, in the northeast corner of the county, almost astride the Vermont line. Here, with the assistance of the Rev. Amos Pardee, in charge of the churches at Pawlet and Wells, Vermont, he organized the parish of Christ Church. After his departure, the history of the parish becomes obscure; it may have been kept feebly alive by the clergy from the nearby Vermont parishes. Immigration, which was filling up Otsego County and the Mohawk Valley, was draining families from the stony soil of Vermont, and Hampton is practically in Vermont. In 1811, the Rev. Stephen Jewett was sent there by Bishop Hobart to revive the parish; in 1813 he reported it as having thirty-five communicants—a respectable number for a country parish in those days. In the same year the church building, which had been started by Chase but never finished, was completed and consecrated by Bishop Hobart. But in spite of missionary labors and episcopal encouragment, Hampton never became a successful parish. In 1829, the Rev. Moore Bingham reports to the diocesan convention: "The greater part of the most active, influential, and able members of this Church and parish have disposed of their property, in nine cases out of ten to people of other denominations, and emigrated westward, within a period of ten or twelve years." As early as 1815, Jewett's reports had become discouraging; in 1821 he moved his residence to the newly formed parish of Granville, and Hampton became an outstation. It lingered on until 1868; in his convention address of 1870, Bishop Doane pronounced its obituary:

"This is a strange and rather sad story of a mother that has died in giving birth to vigorous children. Christ's Church, Hampton, used to comprise Whitehall, Salem, Granville, Poultney, Fairhaven, and the whole neighborhood. In 1813, seventy persons were confirmed by Bishop

²A complete statement of the gifts made by Trinity Church up to 1855 is given in Morgan Dix's A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York (4 vols., New York, 1906), Vol. IV., pp. 535-564.

³New York Convention Journal, 1829, p. 49.

Hobart. Now the old church is gone, desecrated into a candlestick factory, its light removed; nothing left but the graveyard; the parsonage and lot sold, and the second chapel, built on leased ground, lost,"4

But though Hampton itself died out, it is important (and Bishop Doane observed the fact) as a center from which more lasting parishes were established. The first of these was Zion Church, Hudson Falls. According to the History of Washington County—but statements in county histories are to be taken with much salt—some sort of beginning was made at Kingsbury, a hamlet near Hudson Falls, in 1790, and work was started on a church building. If there was such a beginning, it came to nothing.⁵ The effective start of the parish was in 1813, when Zion Church, Sandy Hill, was incorporated. In 1816, Jewett was given an assistant, the Rev. Charles Hamilton, and the two set up a vigorous program of evangelization throughout Washington and parts of Essex counties. Hudson Falls grew slowly but steadily. The Rev. George Upfold, then rector of Trinity, Lansingburg, visited the parish in 1820, and he has left us an account of a communion service there which gives us some notion of the primitive arrangements with which the missionaries of this date had to be content:

"I recollect well, the vessels used at the celebration of the Holy Communion were of a very humble character, consisting of a common earthen plate for the bread, and a glass tumbler for the wine, a black junk bottle being placed on the table as the flagon containing the wine, which, after pouring a sufficient quantity into the tumbler, I put away under the table."

Startling in its simplicity, which is more than apostolic; rather reminiscent of the Last Supper.

Slightly later, but much more promising in its beginning, was Trinity Church, Granville. In 1815 a number of laymen from a countryside which extended over the border into Ver-

⁴Albany Convention Journal, 1870, p. 137.

⁵In Dix's History of Trinity Church in the City of New York, Vol. IV., page 545, is recorded that in 1797 a grant of five hundred dollars "To the Church at Salem or Campden" was made. This is the only reference to work in that village at that date. The present parish of Salem is a much later foundation.

⁶Sandy Hill later assumed the grander name of Hudson Falls.

⁷Quoted from a mss. letter in Holden, History of Queensbury, p. 246.

mont selected Granville as a central point, and there established Trinity Parish. Unlike many groups of the period, they seemed to have looked for no financial help from outside, but at once set to work to erect a church. Jewett of Hampton became the first rector of the parish, which was admitted into union with the convention of the diocese in 1815. In the following year Bishop Hobart visited the parish, consecrated the now completed church, and confirmed twenty-nine persons. In his report to the convention the bishop commented on the unusual liberality the people of the parish, farmers all, had showed in their contributions for the building. So rapidly did the parish outstrip its older sister at Hampton that in 1821 Jewett transferred his residence there. In 1824 he was followed by the Rev. Palmer Dyer, an outstanding missionary.

Hamilton, meanwhile, was exercising a sort of roving commission. He ministered principally at Hampton and Sandy Hill, but soon he was moving farther north. Occasional services had been held at Ticonderoga before this time, but it was due to the labors of Jewett and Hamilton that permanent work was begun there. In 1816 Jewett reported having assisted in organizing a congregation at Ticonderoga, with ten communicants. In 1817, St. Paul's, Ticonderoga, was received into union with the convention. Hamilton recommended that missionaries be located both there and at Whitehall. In 1816 Bishop Hobart had gone to see for himself, and had held the first confirmation in Ticonderoga. When Hamilton moved in 1821 to Duanesburg, a temporary halt was given to missionary work in the north, but in 1823 the Rev. Moses Burt, who had followed Hamilton at Hampton, reported:

"And one Sunday I preached at Tyconderoga, in the county of Essex. The prospect is rather flattering there; indeed, I think there is little doubt, but that if a missionary could be sent to that place, he might collect a respectable congregation."

In 1825, Burt took his own advice, and left Hampton for Ticonderoga. But the permanent establishment of the parish there was not to come until over a decade later. Other places visited by the tireless pair, Hamilton and Jewett, were Caldwell, now Lake George Village, Cambridge and Plattsburg, all in 1816.

⁸New York Convention Journal, 1823.

All were eventually to develop into permanent establishments, but Caldwell and Cambridge were much later. In Plattsburg, however, a missionary was settled in 1824, and in 1826 both that place and Ticonderoga were again visited by Bishop Hobart.

IV. IN ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY

In the valley of the St. Lawrence, as in so many other places we have mentioned, the first impulse toward the founding of churches came from the laity. As early as 1804 Colonel Samuel Ogden, of the family from which Ogdensburg takes its name, suggested to Bishop Moore that a resident priest be located at Ogdensburg, and endeavored to have the civil authorities grant land for the purpose. Nothing came of this attempt, but in 1816 his brother David began the erection of a church at Waddington, financing it himself with the aid of a grant from Trinity, New York. In the same year Russell Atwater, a pious and influential layman who had recently moved to Norfolk, held services there as a lay reader, using the upper story of his grist mill as a church. The only important result of this attempt was the conversion of Levi Silliman Ives, later bishop of North Carolina, and eventually a convert to Rome. The first Anglican priest in the valley was Daniel Nash, who preached at Ogdensburg in 1816.

But the effective start of the Church in St. Lawrence county came with the removal here of the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin, rector of Trinity Church, Utica, who had been instrumental in founding the Church at Fairfield, and who now planned to devote himself to missionary work. He arrived in the summer of 1818, and in October of the same year reported to the diocesan cenvention:

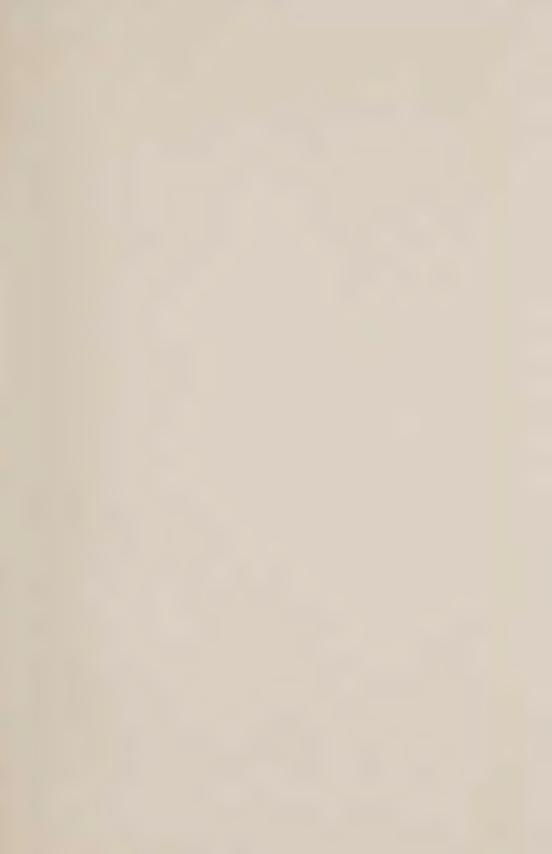
"I came into St. Lawrence County the beginning of June and found extensive fields for labor. Provision was made for my support at Waddington and Ogdensburg. In Russell there was expressed a most gratifying solicitude for my services. On Sundays I officiated alternately at Waddington and Ogdensburg, except one, on which I visited Russell, and one spent abroad. On week-days I officiated in Russell, Canton, DeKalb, Pierpont, Parishville, Hopkinton, Potsdam, Louisville, Columbus, in the township of Madrid, Lisbon, Morristown, Black Lake, and a few other places; in some of them several times."

This missionary effort soon bore fruit in the incorporation of a flourishing crop of parishes. St. Paul's, Waddington, led the way, being incorporated in 1818. In 1819, Zion Church, Russell, was established, but the parish never developed into anything, and finally became extinct. On October 4, 1818, the first communion service was held in Ogdensburg, and in 1820 the parish was incorporated. Baldwin was succeeded in 1820 by the Rev. Lawson Carter, under whom the work of erecting a building at Ogdensburg went rapidly forward. In 1821, Bishop Hobart notes, "On the next day, Sept. 13th, 1821, I officiated at Ogdensburg, where a handsome stone edifice, for public worship, is in considerable forwardness." The first service in the church was held in 1822; it was consecrated in 1826.

The start of the Church in Potsdam was largely due to the efforts of the Clarkson family. John C. Clarkson came into this region shortly after the War of 1812. In 1811, he joined with several others in forming a body known as the Trinity Church Society, apparently an early attempt at what is now called a "Community Church." It soon turned into a full-fledged Presbyterian Church.

The first recorded Episcopal service in Potsdam was a baptism performed in 1825 by the Rev. Seth W. Beardsley, missionary at Waddington. For a number of years occasional services were held here by missionaries from Waddington or Ogdensburg. In 1833, Bishop Onderdonk visited the village and confirmed eleven persons. This gave a strong impulse to the Episcopalians in the community, who now set about forming a local parish. In 1834 the Rev. Richard Bury was called as resident priest; in 1835 Trinity Church, Potsdam, was formally incorporated; and on land given by the proprietors, the church building, modeled on that of Trinity, New York, was begun the same vear. On August 7, 1836, it was consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk. The exterior closely resembled St. Paul's, Troy, St. Paul's, Waddington, and Emmanuel, Little Falls-all typical examples of the "barn Gothic" of that era. The parish history contains an interesting description of the interior:

"The backs of the pews were high and the doors fastened by a button so that the householder could fence himself in and defy the entrance of any spiritual tramp. . . . Pulpit, reading-desk, and communion-table stood out conspicuously from the bare white wall of the original edifice,





THE REV. SAMUEL FULLER 1767—APRIL 9, 1842 Deacon, October 2, 1810; Priest, October 1, 1811

"This country parson, like Father Nash and other choice missionary spirits, to whom many a parish owes its existence in New York State, was a veritable circuit rider and preacher. Not Rensselaerville only, but nigh unto a score of villages south and west of it, outside the county bounds, received his ministrations."—The Rev. Frederick S. Sill.

"Priest Wheeler"
The Rev. Russell Wheeler
May 2, 1783—February 18, 1861
Deacon, June 9, 1805; Priest, June 4, 1807

"He was a fit successor of Father Nash, and like him possessed not only talent of a good order, but also remarkable tact in managing affairs and presenting the Church's claim to Apostolicity and Catholicity. Towards 'them that are without' he conducted himself with so great wisdom that, by him, many who had been falsely educated in regard to the Church as the 'scarlet woman', or an aristocracy of wealth and pride, were brought to confess their error, and to seek her divine order and primitive worship, and finally to love her as the apple of their eye. There was no house in the parish unvisited by him, no man, woman, or child unknown to him. He was endowed with many social qualities, and was not less popular as a man than as a minister."—Bishop Nelson S. Rulison (1842-1897).



and were enclosed by a heavy, low, painted rail. In front stood the communion-table of wood, painted white and topped with a large purple cushion to hold the Prayer Books. Above this rose the pulpit, a panelled octagon supported by triplet columns, on a level with the gallery and entered by a door in the rear. It was an age of upholstery decoration in churches. . . . Owners of pews upholstered them in such colors and materials as they pleased, cushioning the backs and making them otherwise as comfortable as possible. The result was as large a variety of hues as is in the woods in October."

No sooner was Potsdam well organized, than Bury, who appears to have had a genius for starting new enterprises, though he seldom stayed long with them, was reaching out for new fields. A few miles to the southwest lay the growing village of Canton, and here in 1836 Grace Church was founded.⁹

By 1840, then, the Church was firmly established in St. Lawrence County, with three strong and growing parishes, and exploratory beginnings in a number of other places.

V. IN ALBANY AND GREENE COUNTIES

In the southwest corner of Albany County, tucked away among the hills of the Helderberg escarpment, lies the small village of Rensselaerville. The Church came to this place in a rather amusing fashion. In 1810 the Rev. Samuel Fuller had been for eighteen years the Presbyterian minister at that place. In the course of his parish calling, he ran across a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, borrowed it, read, marked, and inwardly digested it. The process convinced him of the invalidity of his ordination, and in the words of his contemporary and fellow worker, the Rev. James Thompson, he "left that body and embraced the Episcopal Church, as the true Church of Christ." In 1810 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Moore and priest in 1811 by Bishop Hobart.

Having found the truth, Fuller was naturally anxious to bring his former flock to it. He therefore returned to Rensselaer-ville, and there organized, on February 20, 1811, Trinity Church. There were at first nine communicants; all, one supposes, converts like Fuller. The number grew; in July, 1813, he presented eight persons for confirmation. In three years he had raised

 $^{^9\}mathrm{Augusta}$ Clarkson, An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, Potsdam, New York (New York, 1896), pp. 49-50.

\$2,900 to build a church, which was completed and consecrated in 1815. Though considerably altered, it still stands. Like most of the upstate priests of this period, Fuller was intensely missionary-minded. No sooner was the congregation at Rensselaerville established, than he began to cast about for other territory to evangelize. At Durham, now Oak Hill, he found a group of laymen who had in 1809 organized themselves as St. Paul's Church. Under Fuller's leadership the work was strengthened, and the parish was admitted into union with the convention in 1816.¹⁰

By 1814, so much activity had developed in this section, that Bishop Hobart placed in it a second missionary, the Rev. James Thompson, who worked from Greenville as a center. The parish at Ashland, founded by Chase, was strengthened, and in 1818 the church building was consecrated. Another mission was begun at Cairo. In 1825, Christ Church, Greenville, was received into union with the convention. By 1830, Greene County was well sprinkled with flourishing missions.

VI. IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY

The sudden and tragic end of Bishop Hobart, who died in harness on one of his toilsome missionary tours, resulted in no cessation of the growth of the Church in upstate New York. Bishop Onderdonk, his pupil, follower, and successor, was a man of much lesser stature, but nevertheless a wise administrator and an energetic missionary leader. The first crop of new parishes that sprang up during his episcopate were located where our story opened, in the Mohawk Valley.

Although the Church came into the Mohawk Valley in 1704, after more than one hundred years there was still but one parish existing between the mouth of the river and the city of Utica—St. George's, Schenectady. But the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, making the valley the principal travel route between

10"Bishop Hobart sent several young men who aspired to the priesthood to Fuller for preparation, among them an Indian chief. . . . Fuller's own son was one of the first graduates of the General Seminary, filling after his ordination important parishes and two seminary professorships. . . . With the increasing labors of his widespread field and with advancing years he sought the assistance of a curate. Some four or five men served him during the last twenty years of his ministry. These were men like-minded to himself, fervent missionaries, of sound learning and strong in the Faith. The latest of these was with him at his death, succeeding him as Rector of Trinity Church. This man, Robert Washbon, then a young man, remained rector of the parish until his death a half century later." [William Garner, "The Story of a Rural Parish," in American Church Monthly, May, 1934.]

the Atlantic coast and the West, brought wealth and population to the towns of the valley. In the wake of this growth came the Church. As we have noted, there had been fitful gleams of life in the ancient chapel at Fort Hunter after the Revolution. The canal ended even this; the building lay in its path, and was ruthlessly torn down. But a posthumous child was born.

In 1829 the Rev. David Huntington was appointed missionary at St. Mary's, West Charlton, with instructions to do what he could to build up a congregation in the neighborhood of the former chapel. He was followed in the next year by the Rev. Moses Burt, whom we have met as a successful worker in Washington and Essex Counties. As a result of his work a parish was incorporated in the growing village of Amsterdam, which in memory of the old chapel bore the name of St. Ann's The church, which was erected in 1836, was located in Port Jackson, on the south side of the Mohawk. It received some endowment from the glebe lands given to the former chapel. It soon became apparent that the church was badly located, and in 1849 it was sold to the Roman Catholics, and a new building started in Amsterdam proper. This, the present church, was consecrated in 1851. The parish now numbers over a thousand communicants.

A few miles west of Amsterdam lay the growing village of Little Falls. In 1796 a structure called the Octagon Church had been erected here, controlled by a group called the Concord Society, containing people of various and sundry faiths. Among these were some Episcopalians. In 1809 the Rev. Amos Baldwin, founder of the Church at Fairfield, held here the first service of the Episcopal Church. For a number of years the Episcopalians in Little Falls were under the care of the Rev. Phineas Whipple, missionary at Fairfield; under him on February 17, 1823, Emmanuel Parish, Little Falls, was incorporated. Whipple was to give half his time to the new parish, which in 1824 obtained part use of the Octagon Church. This arrangement was inevitably unsatisfactory, and in 1833 the vestry began to collect funds for a church building of their own. In the following year, the parish was able to call a rector of its own, the Rev. Henry S. Attwater. Under him work on the new building, which was Gothic of the vintage of the twenties, progressed rapidly, and in 1835 it was consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk. By 1843 the parish was able to relinquish all missionary assistance from the diocese.

Ten miles farther west was the village of Herkimer. Whipple of Fairfield began to hold services here in 1828, found a healthy nucleus of Church people, and recommended the placing of a full time missionary here. The first step in forming a local congregation came with the incorporation, in 1834, of St. Luke's, German Flatts. It was proposed that this congregation should build a church in the flats between Herkimer and the village of Mohawk, to serve both communities, but the plan never matured. For several years Herkimer and Mohawk were supplied with services by the Rev. Henry Attwater of Little Falls. In 1836 land was given for a building to be located in Mohawk, and work begun on its construction. But the village was too small to support a church as yet, especially since most of the communicants lived in Herkimer, and the land, together with the partial structure erected on it, passed into the hands of the Dutch Reformed Church, whose property it remains. Not until 1870 was a permanent parish finally established in Mohawk. In 1839, Christ Church, Herkimer, was incorporated, the union with Mohawk having been given up, and at once proceeded to function. In 1839, the cornerstone of the church building was laid. But again this proved a false start, and for over a decade nothing more was done by the Church in Herkimer. Finally in 1854, there was a third incorporation, a resident priest was settled in the town, and the parish really got under way.11

VII. IN THE EASTERN ADIRONDACKS AND IN THE CITY OF TROY

In many sections of the American Church, the Oxford Movement, the influence of which began to be felt in this country during the late thirties, came as a sundering sword, widening the division between Evangelicals and High Churchmen, and even dividing the High Church party into two bitterly warring sections. This, fortunately, was not true in upstate New York. From the earliest days of the Church in this section, High Churchmanship had been a strong, perhaps a dominant influence. The missionaries of the S. P. G. who came to this section were apt to

¹¹From Attwater's report to the convention of 1836: "The valley of the Mohawk presents a most inviting and interesting field for missionary labors, equal perhaps to any in our Western States. Some of these flourishing villages, though rapidly advancing in wealth and population, are either entirely destitute of regular ministrations of the Gospel, or only supplied with those of a very imperfect and unevangelical character. Of consequence, every form of heresy and infidelity is found prevailing to an alarming extent."

stand in the nonjuror tradition. Many of the missionary clergy, as we have noted, were converts; and converts are always notable for the strength of their Church principles. Bishop Hobart had left on this section the impress of his dominant leadership; Bishop Onderdonk, missionary minded, was always stronger upstate than in New York City. It is notable that in the troubles of the forties, the upstate parishes, almost without exception, supported the bishop through thick and thin. To the churches of our area, then, the Oxford Movement came largely as an intensification and development of principles and practices already common.

The establishment of churches in the eastern Adirondacks was largely due to the new impulse given by the Oxford Movement. In 1830, the Rev. Orange Clark, then resident priest at Mechanicsville, visited the growing village of Glens Falls, and recommended making it a missionary station. The first missionary sent there was the Rev. John Alden Spooner, a descendant of John Alden, who had graduated from the General Theological Seminary and received holy orders in 1838. churchmanship is revealed by the titles of the three tracts he published: Methodism as Held by Wesley, The Catholic Saved from Popery, and The Supremacy of the Pope Disproved by Holy Scriptures. 12 In 1840 the Church of the Messiah, Glens Falls, was incorporated, after Bishop Cnderdonk had visited the village in the previous year and held services in the Presbyterian Church. On January 19, 1840, Spooner arrived in the village as the first resident missionary. He was ordained priest at a visitation held by Bishop Onderdonk on August 18, 1840, at which visitation fourteen people were confirmed.

Spooner was a man of vast energy and far-reaching plans. He at once assumed charge of the neighboring villages of Sandy Hill and Fort Edward, and assisted by one or sometimes two curates, worked the three places as an associate mission. Sandy Hill, as we have noted, had been the scene of sporadic missionary efforts for several decades; under Spooner the parish began to take on permanent shape. By December, 1844, work in Fort Edward was far enough advanced to warrant the organization of a parish there. In 1845 the cornerstone of the church building was laid; in 1848 the edifice was consecrated by Bishop DeLancey of Western New York. At Glens Falls there were transient

¹²Holden, History of the Town of Queensbury, p. 248.

difficulties; some sort of difference between the parish and town had to be smoothed over; but by 1844 Spooner was able to report to the convention of the diocese:

"By the blessing of God, a church at Glens Falls is so nearly completed, that it has been occupied with comfort most of the year past. It is the first and only church edifice in Warren County; its sittings are free; and its font, which is near the church door, is so constructed as to admit of immersing either children or adults." ¹³

In all three parishes, parish schools were maintained.

But the work of the associate mission soon extended far beyond the confines of the three central parishes. In 1840, Spooner reported to the convention:

"In one short mission northwards from my station, I held services at Ticonderoga, Warrensburg, Chester and Minerva."

Other places in which services were later held with fair regularity were Salem, Schuylerville, Caldwell, and Luzerne.

One result of this missionary journey was the establishment of a church in the heart of the Adirondacks. At the convention of 1845, Christ Church, Pottersville, was admitted into union. On February 11, 1846, the church was consecrated by Bishop McCoskry of Michigan, the Rev. William W. Hickox being the missionary in charge. There is an interesting local tradition to account for the site of the church. It stands some half mile north of the hamlet of Pottersville, in a field by itself. The tradition is that there were two families in this region who were interested in the establishment of an Episcopal parish. One family lived at Schroon Lake, one at Friend's Lake. Each wanted the church near its home; neither would give way. Eventually they compromised by measuring the distance between the homes, and built the church just midway. I do not vouch for the truth of this tale. But this beginning seems to have been premature. The first missionary left very shortly, and for decades the parish was vacant.

More permanent was the parish which was now established at Ticonderoga. We have mentioned the early efforts of the

¹³Holden, History of the Town of Queensbury, p. 250.

Rev. Messrs. Jewett and Burt in the village. From 1829, when Burt left, until 1839, the life of the Church there was in a state of coma. But in 1839 the present parish, the Church of the Cross, was incorporated. The Rev. Palmer Dyer, then rector of Whitehall, an indefatigable missionary whose fruitful labors were cut short by an early death, was the first rector of the new foundation. In December, 1840, the Rev. Henry M. Davis was called to Ticonderoga as the first resident rector under the new dispensation.

Davis was succeeded in 1843 by the Rev. Edgar P. Wadhams, deacon. Wadhams was a member of the extreme Anglo-Catholic group at the General Seminary—a group which included such stormy petrels as Walworth and McMaster. For three years Wadhams worked the field energetically, leading in the incorporation of the Church of the Covenant, Port Henry, and the significantly named Church of the Holy Martyrs, Chesterfield. He planned to staff these missions by members of a monastic order which he hoped to found. But the storm and stress of the battle over the Carey ordination, and the suspension of Bishop Onderdonk, proved too much for his already doubtful faith in the Episcopal Church, and in 1846 he was received into the Church of Rome.

Wadhams' defection was a great blow to the missions he had established. The churches at Port Henry and Chesterfield died at once; Ticonderoga was left for a long period without a resident priest, and kept alive largely by the devoted work of the senior warden, Jonathan Burnet.¹⁴ Burnet was a notable figure, not only in the parish and the village, but in the diocese at large. For years a delegate to diocesan convention, he distinguished himself by his unfaltering championship of Bishop Onderdonk, and his repeated attempts to restore the bishop to his jurisdiction.

The third parish in the city of Troy, Christ Church, was incorporated in 1836, the Rev. William F. Walker being the first rector. It was apparently his intention to make this a "Catholic parish." Bishop Onderdonk, commenting on the consecration of the church in 1839, mentions the prominence given the altar, and the fact that daily morning and evening prayer were regularly read in the church. But Walker stayed only a short time,

¹⁴P. A. Kellogg, The First Hundred Years (Church of the Cross, Ticonderoga, 1939), passim.

and the real center in Troy of the renewed High Churchmanship

of the Oxford Movement shifted to another parish.

We have mentioned the work of Eliakim Warren in connection with the founding of St. Paul's Church, Troy. His wife, Phoebe, like her husband a devout and active Christian, maintained a little school in which children were taught "Catechism and plain sewing." This school was continued after her death by her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Mary Warren. In 1843, Mrs. Warren determined to develop this work by founding an endowed school, with a free missionary church attached to it. On April 23, 1844, the cornerstone of the church was laid by Bishop Onderdonk. The foundress noted in her diary:

"By some people it has been said that we were going to join the Romanists, and by others it was said we were going to build a Puseyite Church. . . . This Church when completed is designed to have the daily service." ¹⁵

Late in 1844 John Ireland Tucker came to the Church of the Holy Cross as its first rector. He had just graduated from General Seminary, where, like many young men of his generation, he had drunk deeply of the waters of Newmanism. An accomplished musician, he at once began to make his church a center of Church music. From the beginning, Tucker imported into the Church the ceremonial advances he had learned at Flushing under Muhlenberg. The building Mrs. Warren had erected afforded him an appropriate theatre for such observances; it was the first church within the limits of the present diocese of what might be called scholarly Gothic, as distinguished from the "barn Gothic" of St. Paul's. 16 The daily offices, the careful and colorful observance of all holy days, the choral service, the plainsong psalter—all these marked the carrying out of the principles of the Church revival at Holy Cross. 17 Tucker's influence on the development of ceremonial and of Church music within the limits of the diocese of Albany was immense; largely because Tucker, unlike Wadhams, was a moderate man, and a convinced and loyal Anglican.

¹⁷Knauff, op. cit., p. 128.

 ¹⁵C. Knauff, Doctor Tucker, Priest-Musician (New York, 1897), p. 118.
 ¹⁶It was designed by Dr. Nathan B. Warren.

The Church of The Holy Cross ${\bf Troy}$ One of the Fruits of the Oxford Movement in America

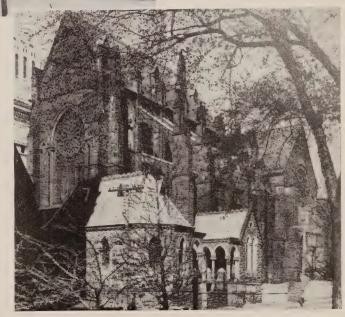


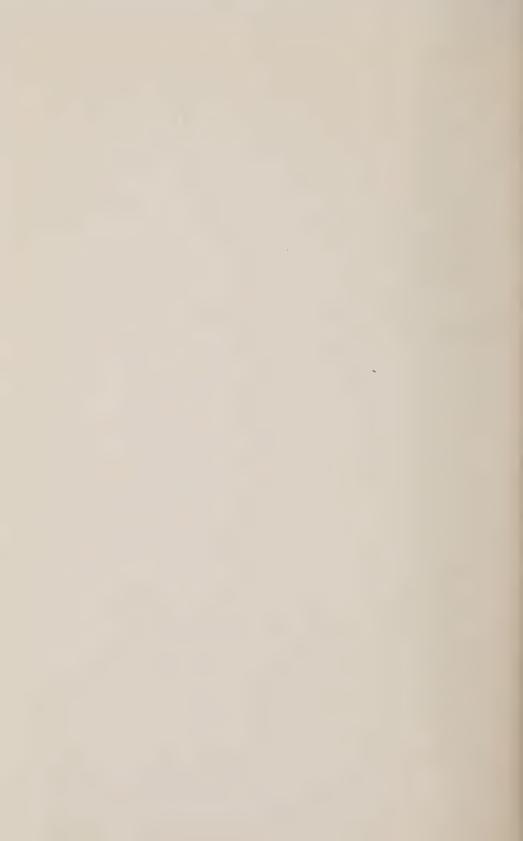
"A leaden box deposited in the Corner Stone contains a Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and has engraved on it the following inscription:

The Church
of The Holy Cross
was founded
In the Year of Grace, 1844, by
Mary Warren
As a House of Prayer
for all people without money
and without price."
—From The Churchman, 1844.

THE EAST END OF THE CATHEDRAL FROM ELK STREET

The graceful flying buttresses can be seen, together with the Cloister and the East Window. See Chapter VI.





VIII. IN THE CITY OF ALBANY

While the Church in Troy was thus expanding, a parallel growth was taking place in the city of Albany. The first offshoot from the parent parish of St. Peter's was St. Paul's, which was incorporated November 12, 1827. The first rector was the Rev. Richard Bury, who had had a large part in the establishment of the Church in St. Lawrence County. Under his direction, the first building was begun, the cornerstone laid by Bishop Hobart in 1828, and the church consecrated in 1829, in which year the parish was received into union with the convention of the diocese. The early years of the parish were years of struggle for existence. Bury resigned in 1830, and was succeeded by a series of rectors. Not until 1837, when the Rev. William Ingraham Kip became rector, did the prospects of the parish seem hopeful. Kip was a man of mark—a High Churchman of the Hobartian school, a scholar and writer, who later became the first missionary and diocesan bishop of California.18 The first location of the parish was unsatisfactory, the church was sold to the Roman Catholics, and for two decades the parish occupied a former theatre on south Pearl Street. Finally, in 1862, the present building, erected as the Dudley Reformed Church, was purchased.

In 1839 a third parish, Trinity, was incorporated, which under the long rectorate of the Rev. Edward Selkirk, from 1844 to 1884, was placed on a firm footing. Grace Church, which owed its inception to the Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, followed in 1846. In 1850 Holy Innocents was built by William H. DeWitt as a memorial to his two deceased children.

By the year 1850 the Church within the limits of the present diocese of Albany had reached into all the areas it was eventually to occupy, with the exception of the Saranac-Lake Placid region, then almost unbroken wilderness. From that year on, the task of the Church became largely one of consolidation. While the list of parishes founded during the decade from 1850 to 1860 is a notable one—nineteen in all—they were without exception in localities where the Church had already made a start.

The diocese was fortunate in its leadership throughout this period of consolidation. The long interregnum which fol-

¹⁸See Edward L. Parsons, "William Ingraham Kip—First Bishop of California," in Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, XI (1942), pp. 103-125.

lowed the suspension of Bishop Onderdonk¹⁹ in 1845, was hardly broken by the short provisional episcopate of Bishop Wainwright, 20 1852-1854. But when, in 1854, Horatio Potter 21 was elected provisional bishop, the diocese had a head worthy to succeed to the see of Hobart. At first sight, Bishop Potter seems a rather stiff and unsympathetic figure, but he improves on closer acquaintance. Educated at Union College, Schenectady, twentyone years rector of St. Peter's, Albany, he knew the problems of the upstate churches, and like his great predecessors, was a true missionary leader. To this essential quality he added a cool sanity of judgment, an intellectual candor, a willingness to look on all sides of a question, to state his reasons frankly, to oppose without becoming bitter and personal, and to take a defeat gracefully,—qualities that justify one in according him that much abused title "an ecclesiastical statesman." The years of his episcopate were years of continuous and steady advance in the work of the Church.

19Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (July 15, 1791-April 30,1861) was born in New York City, and graduated from Columbia College, 1809. He served as an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York, professor of polity in the General Seminary, and as secretary of the diocesan convention, until his consecration as bishop of New York on November 26, 1830, in succession to Hobart. Bishop William Stevens Perry's estimate of him [The Bishops of the American Church, Past and Present, New York, 1897, p. 55] was:

"His episcopate was vigorous and aggressive. Untiring in his labors, pronounced in his judgments, impatient of opposition, he was naturally a leader; and his 'High-Church' position secured for him enemies as well as friends."

[See E. C. Chorley, "Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Fourth Bishop of New York," in Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church, Vol. IX (1940), pp. 1-51, which also has an extensive bibliography.]

20 Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (February 24, 1792-September 21, 1854) was born in Liverpool, England, but graduated from Harvard in 1812, and became a

born in Liverpool, England, but graduated from Harvard in 1812, and became a member of the faculty there. He was made deacon by Bishop A. V. Griswold on April 13, 1817, and priest by Bishop Hobart, May 29, 1818. After curacies in Hartford and New York, he became rector of Grace Church, New York, 1821-1834; Trinity Church, Boston, 1834-1836; vicar of St. John's Chapel, Trinity Parish, New York, 1836-1852. On November 10, 1852, he was consecrated provisional bishop of New York. He was "a critical scholar, a conservative and high-minded clergyman," a well-read theologian and canonist, and a polished gentleman" [W. S. Perry, Bishops

a well-read theologian and canonist, and a pollished gentieman [W. S. Ferry, Biological of the American Church, p. 121].

21HORATIO POTTER (February 9, 1802-January 2, 1887) was born in Beekman (LaGrange), New York, a younger brother of Alonzo Potter, bishop of Pennsylvania. Graduated, Union College, 1826. He was ordered deacon July 15, 1827, by Bishop Hobart, and priested December 14, 1828, by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut. In the latter year he became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford. Rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, 1833-1854. On November 22, 1854, he was consecrated provisional bishop of New York in succession to Wainwright, and on the death of Onderdonk in 1861 he became diocesan.

in 1861 he became diocesan.

"His administration had been impartial, vigorous, and successful. In the midst of controversy, and with the environment of much of partizan feeling and strife, the Church grew and converts were multiplied" [W. S. Perry, Bishops of the American Church, p. 133].

APPENDIX
A TABLE TO SHOW THE ERECTION OF PARISHES
FROM 1810 TO 1868

Name	In Union With Con- vention	Conse- crated
Rensselaerville, Trinity	1811	1815
Granville, Trinity	1815	1816
Delhi, St. John's	1822	1832
Cooperstown, Christ	1812	1810
Waddington, St. Paul's	1824	1818
*Norfolk, Grace	1826	1857
*Norway, Grace	1819	
Hudson Falls, Zion	1818	1864
Plattsburg, Trinity	1830	1831
Little Falls, Emmanuel	1823	1835
Greenville, Christ	1825	1827
Albany, St. Paul's	1830	1864
Ogdensburg, St. John's	1820	1826
*West Charlton, St. Mary's	1820	1828
Mechanicsville, St. Luke's	1830	
Saratoga, Bethesda	1830	
Troy, St. John's	1831	1866
Cohoes, St. John's	1831	1833
Malone, St. Mark's	1831	1848
Walton, Christ	1831	1834
Amsterdam, St. Ann's	1836	1837
Cairo, Calvary	1832	1833
Watervliet, Trinity	1834	1836
Gilbertsville (Butternuts), Christ	1834	1835
Burlington Flats, Christ	1834	1869
*German Flatts, St. Luke's	1834	
Potsdam, Trinity	1835	1836
*Warren, Christ	1835	
Otego, Immanuel	1836	1836
Canton, Grace	1836	-

^{*}Extinct.

APPENDIX—Continued

Name · · ·	In Union With Con- vention	Conse- crated
Troy, Christ	1837	1839
*Lisbon, St. Luke's	1838	1863
Fonda, St. Stephen's (later, Zion)	1838	1869
Fonda, St. Stephen's (later, Zion)	1000	1009
Cherry Valley, Trinity (later, Grace)	1838	1849
Whitehall, St. Paul's (later, Trinity)	1838	1839
Westford, St. Timothy's	1839	1841
Trostora, Dr. Timoniy S	2000	-011
*Hampton, St. Simon's (chapel of ease)		1840
Hoosick Falls, St. Mark's	1840	1863
Albany, Trinity	1840	1849
Timoung Timog	-010	. =020
Ticonderoga, The Cross	1840	1871
Glens Falls, Messiah	1840	1866
*Moriah, The Covenant	1841	***************************************
 ,		
*Garrattsville, St. Mark's	1843	·
*Prattsville, Grace	1844	1846
Pottersville, Christ	1845	1846
,		
Stockport, St. John the Evangelist	1845	1847
Fort Edward, St. James'	1845	1848
Schaghticoke, Trinity	1846	
Morristown, Christ	1846	1834
Albany, Grace	1846	1853
Schuylerville, St. Stephen's	1846	1870
Troy, Holy Cross	-	1848
*Chesterfield, Holy Martyrs	1847	
Albany, Holy Innocents	1850	1850
	,	
Burnt Hills, Calvary	1850	1850
Richfield Springs, St. John's	1850	1853
Kinderhook, St. Paul's	1851	1852
Canajoharie, St. Polycarp's (later, Good Shepherd)	1852	1881
Copake, St. John's	1853	1852
Keeseville, St. Paul's	1853	1874
Daniel Maria	1070	1022
Rensselaer, Messiah	1853	1855
Essex, St. John's	1853	1855
Champlain, St. John's	1853	1854

^{*}Extinct.

FIVE DECADES OF GROWTH

APPENDIX—CONTINUED

Name	In Union With Con- vention	Conse- crated
Rouse's Point, Christ	1853	1860
Herkimer, Christ	1854	1856
*South Westerloo, Emmanuel	1855	
*Centreville, St. Paul's	1855	1856
Ellenburg, St. Peter's	1855	1858
*Schoharie, St. Andrew's	1855	
Lake George, St. James'	1855	1861
Claverack, Trinity	1856	1866
Salem, St. Paul's	1860	1860
*Northampton, Redeemer	1861	1871
Clermont, St. Luke's	-	1859
Warrensburg, Holy Cross	1865	1866
Stottville, St. Barnabas'	1890	1865
Franklin, St. Paul's	1866	1866
Luzerne, St. Mary's	1867	1886
Cambridge, St. Luke's	1867	1870
Green Island, St. Mark's	1867	1866
Troy, St. Luke's	1867	1869
Brushton, St. Peter's	1871	1869
Gouverneur, Trinity	1869	1868

^{*}Extinct.

CHAPTER IV

THE ERECTION OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY

T is a commonplace of American ecclesiastical history that the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was in design closely parallel to the constitution of the United States itself. It was a federal union, with the diocese taking the place of the state; and originally, diocese and state were always coextensive. The first break in this tradition was made in 1838, when the diocese of Western New York was carved out of the old diocese of New York. Such a division inevitably became a precedent. Furthermore, it was one of the principles of the leaders of the Oxford Movement—and New York State was one of the strongholds of the Oxford Movement in America—that primitive custom could only be followed, and the authority of the bishop properly maintained, by breaking up the large dioceses characteristic of modern Anglicanism.

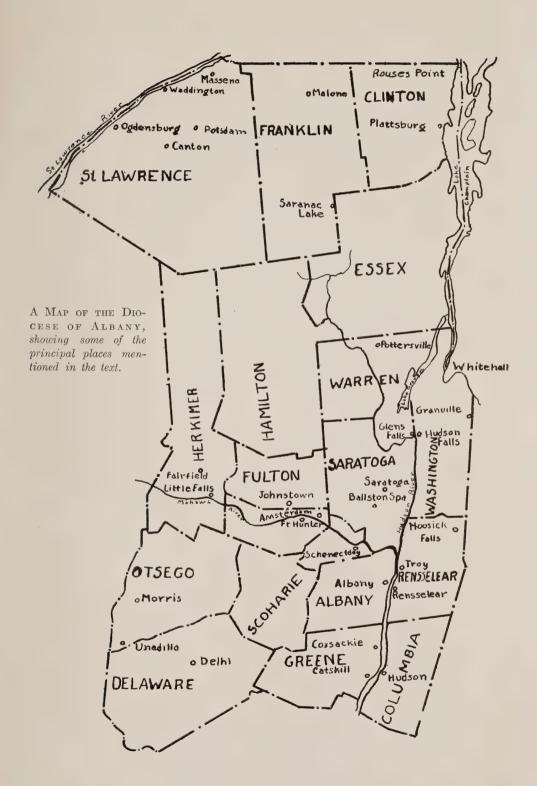
I. THE MOVEMENT FOR THE DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK

Agitation for a further division of the diocese of New York appears to have started in 1851, when John C. Spencer, a lay delegate from St. Peter's Church, Albany, introduced in diocesan convention a resolution calling for a committee to consider the propriety of dividing the diocese. The motion was carried, and the committee appointed, but it declined to function. In the convention of 1852, a resolution was offered by the Rev. W. H. Hill, of Otsego County, definitely calling for a division of the diocese. This resolution was lost, and for several years the agitation withdrew underground.¹

In his convention address of 1859, Bishop Potter again officially re-opened the subject for discussion with these words:

"It is some twelve or fifteen years since I was applied to by two or three clergymen to take some step leading to a further division of the diocese. I then gave the subject some attention, and have continued to do so from that day to this."

¹N. Y. Convention Journal, 1862, p. 270.





The bishop proceeded to weigh the whole matter with his usual balanced and temperate wisdom, and concluded that division at this time was inexpedient. Both practical and missionary-minded, his basic reason was that the financial resources of the Church in New York City were necessary to the proper support of missionary work in the upstate counties.

In spite of the bishop's decision, the question would not down. Indeed, division of some sort was rapidly becoming inevitable. The diocese was over three hundred miles long, and some two hundred miles wide. It included Long Island and the mountain districts of the Adirondacks and the Catskills. Within its limits there were, in 1859, 332 priests, carrying on work in 281 parishes and missions. Ever since 1800, the Church population of the area had been growing by leaps and bounds. In 1859, 5,707 infants and adults were baptized, and 2,656 persons were confirmed. And so, in 1861, the bishop was again compelled to refer to the matter of division in his annual address.² While his own opinion as to the wisdom of division remained unchanged. he bowed to the large and growing sentiment in favor of such division, and recommended the appointment of a committee of thirteen, to include clergymen and laymen representing the different portions of the diocese. This committee was to review the whole subject and report to the next convention. When the question of appointing the committee came before the convention on motion, some enthusiastic advocates of division attempted to force an immediate decision in favor of division, but the bishop's wise and candid attitude kept the convention steady to the slower course.

The committee was an assemblage of notables.³ The Rev. Messrs. Francis L. Hawks, Stephen R. Tyng, Edward Y. Higbee, and Thomas M. Peters, all priests of mark in their day, represented New York City. Upstate supplied John I. Tucker of Holy Cross, Troy, William Payne of Schenectady, and Joseph H. Coit of Plattsburg. Among the laymen were Murray Hoffman, the Church's most eminent canon lawyer, Hamilton Fish, later secretary of state of the United States, and Orlando Meads, of Albany, who was rapidly becoming one of the most noteworthy of upstate laymen. The committee failed to agree on a policy, but the majority reported to the convention of 1862 that present division was unwise. This decision the convention refused to

²N. Y. Convention *Journal*, 1861, pp. 86-90. ³*Ibid.*, pp. 44, 69.

accept as final, and after considerable debate passed the following rather inconsistent resolution:

"Resolved, That a Division of this Diocese at the present time is inexpedient; and that the whole subject of Division be referred to a Committee, to be appointed by this Convention, to consider it in conference with the Bishop. and to report to the next Convention."4

The committee of nine appointed under this resolution brought in to the convention of 1863 a set of resolutions, all obviously based on the presupposition that division was now inevitable. These resolutions provided:

1. That when division took place, two new dioceses, one consisting of the counties on Long Island, the other of the upstate counties, should be erected.

2. That this division should take place whenever a majority of the clergy and parishes in either proposed new diocese should petition convention in favor of division.

3. That the Episcopal Fund should remain the property of the mother diocese,5

One member of the committee offered a minority report, adverse to any division, at least until after the end of the Civil War. The bishop's address on the subject evinced his usual coolness and breadth of mind. He declared that some division of the diocese was now a mere question of time, but objected to the method proposed to initiate the division—a petition from either of the sections involved—as surrendering the convention's right and duty to make decisions. He also shrewdly and fairly remarked that in all decency, when division came, it should be accompanied by a division of diocesan funds.6

The matter came to a vote in convention on three resolutions offered by the Hon. Murray Hoffman, one of the foremost lay advocates of division; these resolutions stated that the diocese could no longer be properly served by one bishop, that division was now expedient, and that the system and plan of division proposed by the committee was to be followed. The resolutions were lost by the close vote of 95 to 117. An analysis of the roll-call is

⁴N. Y. Convention *Journal*, 1862, pp. 78-82, 86-89. ⁵*Ibid.*, 1863, pp. 78-82. ⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 82-86.

strangely disappointing. It shows no clear-cut lines of division, whether between clergy and laity, between upstate and the metropolitan area, or between high and low churchmen.⁷

In 1864, the question of division did not formally come before the convention. The bishop, however, reviewed the whole matter in his address, announced that he still was opposed to immediate division, and for the time being put it away on the shelf.

In 1866, the bishop took the initiative. While still not in favor of immediate division, he stated that a setting-off of Long Island as a separate diocese was now at least possible. In the north, his concern was still lest the withdrawal of metropolitan support might cripple and starve missionary work there. And as a prerequisite of any separation, he insisted that the whole diocese must cooperate in raising episcopal endowments for the proposed new dioceses. In accordance with his recommendation. a committee of fifteen was appointed to study again the whole matter. Since this committee, the third to be appointed for this purpose, finally accomplished something, its composition should be recorded. It consisted of the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, the Rev. A. N. Littlejohn, the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, the Rev. John I. Tucker, the Rev. William F. Morgan, the Rev. Eugene A. Hoffman, the Rev. Samuel B. Bostwick, the Rev. J. Livingston Reese, the Hon. Hamilton Fish, the Hon. John A. King, the Hon. D. Floyd Jones, and Messrs. Frederick De Peyster, Orlando Meads, Henry Pierrepont and Edward Jones.

The convention of 1867 first met in September, and since the bishop was abroad attending the first Lambeth Conference, it was felt that the important matter of division should not be acted on in his absence. The convention was therefore adjourned to November, when the committee of fifteen presented a long and careful report. In accordance with the directions under which the committee had been constituted, it had gathered expressions of opinion from both clergy and vestries in the areas covered by the proposed new dioceses. In Long Island, the sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of the erection of the diocese. In the north country, a large majority of the clergy and a small majority of the vestries expressed themselves in favor of division. The committee, therefore, presented resolutions authorizing the erection of the two new dioceses in question, this erection to take effect November 15, 1868. This resolution was unanimously

⁷N. Y. Convention *Journal*, 1863, pp. 100-103.

adopted by the convention, and a committee of seven was appointed to raise endowments for the support of the episcopate in the two new dioceses.⁸ The bishop's consent having been given, and the General Convention of 1868 having passed the requisite legislation, all was ready for the formation of the new diocese in northeastern New York.

The convention of the diocese of New York which met September 30, 1868, was the last in which members from the northern counties sat. The mother diocese showed every disposition to be liberal with her daughter. Bishop Potter's consent to the erection of the northern diocese had been conditional on the raising within the northern section of \$40,000 as an endowment fund for the episcopate. This endowment seemed fairly on the road to realization. The committee of five appointed at the previous convention proposed to supplement this by an equal sum, to be raised in the metropolitan area. Convention further voted that the sum appropriated for missions in the upstate counties for the past conventional year be continued to October 1, 1869. In addition, a special committee of seven, with the bishop as chairman, was appointed to consider what further missionary aid might be given to the new diocese.

II. THE PRIMARY CONVENTION OF THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY

On December 2, 1868, in accordance with the call of Bishop Potter, the primary convention of the new northern diocese met in St. Peter's, Albany, in many respects the mother church of the new diocese. Never had this building, one of the finest products of Upjohn's genius, never had its two predecessors, seen such a notable assembly of clergy and laity. Here was the erect figure of the venerable bishop of New York, whose rectorate of this very church had done so much to bring it to its present prosperity, and

⁸N. Y. Convention Journal, 1867, passim.

⁹This generosity long remained a paper generosity only. The committee appointed for the purpose succeeded in raising only a little over a thousand dollars for the episcopal endowment. On its failure, a second committee was set up, which had even less success, collecting under a thousand dollars. As a result of these failures, the new diocese felt that the episcopal endowment of the diocese of New York should be divided, following the precedent set when the diocese of Western New York was erected. The New York convention countered by declaring that it had no legal right to make such a division. After several years of negotiation, the matter was temporarily dropped. In 1876, Albany returned to the attack, appointing a committee to confer with the convention of the mother diocese. Again rebuffed, in 1881 the convention of the diocese of Albany threatened to bring suit for a division of the fund. In 1885, under the leadership of Bishop Henry Codman Potter, a compromise was negotiated, which resulted in the receipt, in 1890, of \$25,000 from the mother diocese in satisfaction of all claims of the daughter.



THE THIRD AND PRESENT ST. PETER'S CHURCH ALBANY

Completed in 1860 at a cost of \$61,523.07, after plans of Richard Upjohn "the Elder" (1802-1878), a leading architect of the Gothic revival. Dimensions: length, 136 feet; breadth, 68 feet; height, 64 feet.

"The style of architecture is the decorated Gothic, of the French rather than the English type. Its French characteristics appear in the height of the nave and aisles, the apsidal chancel, the mouldings and curve of the arches, and especially the details of the completed tower. The design is learned, without suggestion of imitation or trace of academic formality, and the edifice in every feature shows conscientious and sympathetic study of what is generally considered the best period in the development of Gothic architecture."—The Rev. Dr. W. W. Battershall.



whose care for the northern missions had never diminished. Present as guests were Dr. Henry L. Jenner, the bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand, on his way to take possession of his distant see, and the Rev. William Eigenbrodt, secretary of the diocese of New York, who proved helpful in numberless ways in the work of organization. Sixty-two priests and one hundred and twenty-seven lay delegates represented the parishes and missions of the new diocese. Among the clergy were three future bishops: William Croswell Doane, the young rector of St. Peter's; John Henry Hobart Brown, of St. John's, Cohoes, later the first bishop of Fond du Lac; and Nelson S. Rulison, of old Zion Church, Morris, who became bishop of Central Pennsylvania. Notable among the other clergy were the Rev. Thomas W. Coit, of St. Paul's, Troy, the senior presbyter, and the Rev. William Payne, for decades rector of St. George's, Schenectady. Here were the saintly Tucker, of Holy Cross, Troy, the scholarly Robert T. S. Lowell of Duanesburg, and such notable workers in the mission field as Samuel Bostwick¹⁰ and John Vaughn Hughes. Here was that clerical gad-fly, John Henry Hopkins, brilliant son of the late presiding bishop. Among the laity we find such eminent family names as De Witt, Van Santvoord, Pruyn, Keese, Reid, Morris and Tillinghast.¹¹

After the fashion of those days, the convention opened with morning prayer, said by the Rev. Dr. Payne, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Reese and Lowell; the celebrant at the Holy Communion was the bishop of Dunedin. Bishop Potter preached the sermon, a large portion of which consisted in a re-statement of the position of the Anglican Church—a statement so clear in its principles, so prophetic of the tradition the new diocese was to follow, that

it deserves quotation here:

"In other words, Christianity is not a mere sentiment; it is not a mere doctrine, opinion, or feeling. It is a Divine Institution duly organized; its Faith, its Ministry, its sacraments all alike unchangeable, and all alike derived from its Divine Author and Head. It is a Holy Society, a Spiritual Body, a very Mystical Body of Christ, filled with His Presence

¹⁰Samuel Bostwick was in many respects an ideal village pastor. He began his ministry in 1841, serving as a deacon under John Alden Spooner at the Glens Falls associate mission. By 1845 he had built up the missions at Fort Edward and Sandy Hill to such a point that he left Glens Falls and settled in Fort Edward as rector. In 1870, Sandy Hill was set off as a separate parish. Bostwick died in 1880, the Nestor of the clergy of the diocese of Albany.

11Albany Convention Journal, 1868, p. 65.

and Grace—a living *Body*, of which, if it be accessible to us, we must become members, and in and through which we must find nourishment for our spiritual life and work out our salvation.

Under the divine blessing these objects are to be obtained by regarding the Church, by treating it, by teaching it, by living in it, as that which it really is—not a sect, not a respectable religious body, for whose order and doctrines a plausible argument can be constructed out of Holy Scriptures—but as a pure branch of the One Holy Catholic Church, divinely handed down to us; and as to its faith and order, resting upon the immovable foundation of Holy Scripture; rightly interpreted, according to its letter and according to the faith and practice of the whole early Church." 12

From these ringing words, worthy to have been written by Hobart himself, the bishop came down to something like electioneering. At the end of his address, he alluded pointedly to the large number of bishops who had come from within the limits of the new diocese, and to the comparative youth of the recently consecrated bishops of Utah¹³ and Missouri¹⁴—all this in obvious reference to Dr. Doane. It was almost a nominating speech.¹⁵

When the convention came to organize for business, the Rev. Dr. Coit, as the senior priest, took the chair. The first conflict developed over the choice of a permanent president. Dr. Doane's motion, that the ballot be dispensed with, and the Rev. William Payne be president of the convention, failed to pass, and Dr. Coit was elected. The Rev. J. H. H. Brown was elected secretary. The new diocese was formally placed under the episcopal care of Bishop Potter until the new bishop should have been chosen and consecrated, and a respectful and affectionate address of farewell to Bishop Potter, who well deserved such recognition, was unanimously adopted.

Then came the question of the name of the new diocese. "Northern New York" was the inevitable suggestion, though a

¹²Albany Convention Journal, p. 69.

¹³Daniel Sylvester Tuttle (1837-1923) was consecrated missionary bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah, on May 1, 1867. He succeeded Robertson as bishop of Missouri in 1886. His episcopate of almost fifty-six years was the longest in the American Church thus far.

American Church thus far.

14CHARLES FRANKLIN ROBERTSON (1835-1886) was consecrated bishop of Missouri on October 25, 1868. He had been rector of St. Mark's, Malone, Franklin County, New York

County, New York.

15Hooper, who is usually careful and accurate, says that he also commended Doane's work at St. Peter's. This does not appear in the address as printed.

logical or satirical delegate offered the more descriptive term "North by Northeast by Southwest New York". A second proposal was that it be designated by its extremities as the diocese of Ogdensburg and Catskill. Eventually, Catholic custom prevailed, and the diocese was officially christened "The Diocese of Albany." Judge Fitch of Catskill was the godfather. It was the first diocese in the American Church to take its name from its see city.

III. THE ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST BISHOP

Noon of the second day had been fixed as the time to proceed to the episcopal election. Bishop Potter first called the convention to prayer, the psalm "Let God Arise" and the Veni Creator Spiritus were sung, and the convention settled down to voting. Besides the usual complimentary nominees, the first ballot showed four serious contenders: Dr. Doane, the Rev. Frederic Dan Huntington of Boston, the Rev. William Payne, and the Rev. George Leeds of Baltimore, who at this period was frequently considered as episcopal timber. After the second ballot, Dr. Pavne dropped from the running. From the beginning, Doane had the largest block of clerical votes, though he did not develop a majority in the clerical order until the third ballot. Huntington had a majority of the lay vote from the second ballot on. The sixth ballot shows evidence of a shrewd maneuver; practically all of Huntington's supporters shifted their votes to Leeds, who had been consistently third man. But this move, so often successful in national party conventions, failed; Doane's followers stood fast, and on the ninth ballot he was elected first bishop of Albany. 16

The committee which had in charge the raising of the episcopal endowment reported over \$26,000 in hand; with something of a gesture of faith, the salary of the bishop was fixed at five

¹⁶It is interesting to find the comment of an influential contemporary layman on

¹⁶It is interesting to find the comment of an influential contemporary layman on the election. The following is from the MSS Diary of John V. L. Pruyn, preserved in the state library at Albany.

"Thursday, 3rd Dec. (1868). There was a large attendance today, and a very active outside (what in politics would be called lobby) interest in favor of the Revd. Dr. Doane of St. Peter's, who was elected on the ninth ballot—by a majority of one in the lay vote (31 to 30). There was some pretty sharp practice, and some which would have done credit! to very sagacious politicians. I did not vote for Dr. Doane—not objecting on personal grounds—for I esteem him highly in many respects, but for the reason that his views are extreme in Church matters (he being a very High Churchman). He is not thoroughly Protestant in his feelings—He is one of those who would discard the name Protestant could he do so."
On the other hand, Dr. Tucker stated publicly that he for one knew of no

On the other hand, Dr. Tucker stated publicly that he, for one, knew of no political machinations in favor of Dr. Doane.

thousand dollars. The convention then significantly pledged that in any future division of the diocese, this fund should be promptly and equitably divided. A committee was appointed to work out a new constitution and a set of canons. The following were elected to the first standing committee:

The Rev. Thomas W. Coit, D. D.; The Rev. Samuel B. Bostwick, D. D.; The Rev. J. H. Hobart Brown; The Rev. J. Livingston Reese; Mr. James Roy; Mr. Thomas A. Tillinghast; Mr.

Orlando Meads; Mr. Robert B. Monell.

After taking up a collection for missionary purposes, and electing the other boards, committees, and officials necessary to the functioning of a diocese in being, the convention adjourned on December 3, having done a good two days' work.

But although Dr. Doane had been elected, he was not vet a bishop. It was no unprecedented thing, in that day of fierce party strife, for the bishops and standing committees to refuse their consent to the consecration of a duly elected bishop. The parish quarrel at St. Peter's, which we relate in an appendix to this chapter¹⁷, had tarred Doane with the brush of ritualism, and a movement, originating apparently with his enemies in Albany, was set on foot to block the necessary consents to his consecration. This movement was taken up by Bishop A. C. Coxe of Western New York, a High Churchman, but in this and the following decades one of the leaders of anti-ritualism. He was seconded, surprisingly, by Bishop Kemper of Wisconsin. The latter apparently addressed to the bishop-elect a sort of questionnaire as to his ritual practices and doctrinal views. Dr. Doane. taking the reasonable and dignified attitude that the canonical testimonial of the convention which elected him was all the evidence on that score necessary, refused to submit to an inquisition. The attempt fell through and the election was confirmed.¹⁸

On the Feast of the Purification, February 2, 1869, St. Peter's Church was again filled to its doors; the occasion being the consecration of the first bishop of Albany. It was the consummation of over a century and a half of missionary effort, and the hearts of Barclay and Ellison, Nash and Chase, must have been lifted in praise and thanksgiving as they saw, from their place of

¹⁷See below, Appendix II of this chapter.
18It is pleasant to record that many years later (in 1891), when a similar attempt was made to block the consecration of Phillips Brooks, bishop-elect of Massachusetts, as pronounced a Broad Churchman as Bishop Doane was a High Churchman, Doane had the breadth and wisdom to be one of the foremost and most influential in defeating the attempt.

rest, the long procession entering the doors of the magnificent church, whose small and bare ancestor had meant so much to them. The consecrator was Bishop Potter, who thus officially ended his connection of thirty-five years with the Church in this section of the state. He was assisted by Bishop Littlejohn of the twin sister diocese of Long Island, and Bishop Robertson of Missouri, formerly rector of Malone. The sermon was appropriately preached by Bishop Odenheimer, the successor of Bishop Doane's father in the see of New Jersey. One hundred and twenty priests, representing thirteen dioceses, added by their presence to the dignity and splendor of the ceremony. And thus, under the fairest auspices, the new diocese was launched on its voyage.

¹⁹There is an excellent and detailed account of the consecration in Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church*—a volume which is a model parish history, and an indispensable aid to any student of the history of the diocese of Albany.

APPENDIX I

PARISHES IN THE DIOCESE OF ALBANY AT THE TIME
OF THE PRIMARY CONVENTION

County	Town	Church
Albany	Albany	Grace
·		Holy Innocents
		St. Paul's
		St. Peter's
		Trinity
	Cohoes	St. John's
	Green Island	St. Mark's
	Rensselaerville	Trinity
	South Westerlo	Emmanuel†
	West Troy	Trinity
Clinton	Centreville	St. Paul's†
	Champlain	St. John's
	Ellenburgh	St. Peter's
	Plattsburgh	Trinity
	Rouse's Point	Christ
Columbia	Claverack	Trinity
	Clermont	St. Luke's*
	Copake	St. John's
	Hudson	Christ
	Kinderhook	St. Paul's
	Stockport	St. John's

^{*}Not in union with the primary convention. †Now extinct.

APPENDIX I—CONTINUED

County	Town	Church
	m. 0.11	G 1
Delaware	Bloomfield	Gracet
	Delhi	St. John's
	Deposit	Christ*
	Franklin	St. Paul's
	Hobart	St. Peter's
	Walton	Christ
Essex	Boquet	St. John's†
	Essex	St. John's
	Keeseville	St. Paul's
	Ticonderoga	The Cross
	210011401084	210 01055
Franklin	Brush's Mills	St. Peter's
	Malone	St. Mark's
Fulton	Johnstown	St. John's
ration	Northampton	Redeemer†
	1401 manipuon	Redcemer
Greene	Athens	Trinity
	Cairo	Calvary
	Catskill	St. Luke's
	Coxsackie	Christ
	Greenville	Christ
	Oak Hill	St. Paul's
	Prattsville	Grace†
	Windham	Trinity
Herkimer	Fairfield	Trinity
	Herkimer	Christ
	Little Falls	Emmanuel
	Norway	Grace†
	1101 Way	Ciacoj
Montgomery	Amsterdam	St. Ann's
	Canajoharie	St. Polycarp's
	Fonda	Zion
Otsego	Butternuts	Christ
_	Cherry Valley	Grace
	Cooperstown	Christ
	Exeter	St. John's†
	Garrettsville	St. Mark's†
	Morris	Zion
	Otego	Immanuel
	Portlandville	St. John's†
	2 of thank ting	Do. John S

^{*}Not in union with the primary convention. †Now extinct.

APPENDIX I—CONTINUED

County	Town	Church
	Richfield	St. Luke's
	Richfield Springs	St. John's
	Unadilla	St. Matthew's
	West Burlington	Christ
	Westford	St. Timothy's
Rensselaer	Greenbush	Messiah
	Hoosac Falls	St. Mark's
	Lansingburgh	Trinity
	Schaghticoke	Trinity
	Troy	Christ
		Holy Cross*
		St. John's
		St. Paul's
		St. Luke's
Saratoga	Ballston Spa	Christ
	Burnt Hills	Calvary
	Charlton	St. Paul's
	Mechanicville	St. Luke's
	Saratoga Springs	Bethesda
	Schuylerville	St. Stephen's
	Stillwater	St. John's
	Waterford	Grace
	West Charlton	St. Mary's†
Schenectady	Duanesburgh	Christ
	Schenectady	Christ*
		St. George's
Schoharie	Middleburgh	St. Luke's†
	Schoharie	St. Andrew's†
	Sharon Springs	Trinity*
St. Lawrence	Canton	Grace
	Gouverneur	Trinity*
	Lisbon	St. Luke's*†
	Morristown	Christ
	Norfolk	Grace†
	Ogdensburgh	St. John's
	Potsdam	Trinity
	Waddington	St. Paul's
Warren	Caldwell	St. James'
	Pottersville	Christ

^{*}Not in union with the primary convention. †Now extinct.

APPENDIX 1-CONTINUED

County	Town	CHURCH
	Glens Falls	Messiah
	Luzerne	St. Mary's
	Warrensburgh	Holy Cross
Washington	Cambridge	St. Luke's
	Fort Edward	St. James'
	Granville	Trinity
	Hampton	Christ†
	Salem	St. Paul's
	Sandy Hill	Zion
	Whitehall	Trinity
†Now extinct.		•

APPENDIX II

DR. DOANE'S DIFFICULTIES, AT ST. PETER'S, ALBANY

In 1867, Dr. Doane became rector of St. Peter's, Albany. Very rapidly, serious parochial troubles appeared. It was the period of what I have elsewhere called "The Second Ritualistic War"; * men's feelings ran high over questions of ritual, and any suspicion of what seemed to be ritualism was cause for trouble. Doane, immediately on coming to St. Peter's, instituted the daily offices and weekly Eucharist and celebrated in the "eastward position." This might have passed, but people then, as now, were extremely touchy over matters of Church music. The organist, when Doane became rector, was John B. Marsh, a typical exponent of the florid quartet singing then in vogue. Doane soon replaced him by S. B. Whitney, later for many years organist of the Church of the Advent, Boston, and began a reform of the music, instituting occasional choral services. An interesting letter of Mr. Whitney's, preserved among Bishop Doane's papers, sheds light on the situation. "Before I came here," he writes, 'Gen. Cooper wrote me that I must consider myself under Dr. Doane, as the rubric gave him the control of the music. Immediately upon my arrival, however, I was told not to let Dr. Doane influence me too much and that I must fight him in some of his so-called peculiar notions."

The matter came to a head in the Easter vestry elections of 1868. There were two clearly defined tickets in the field, Doane and anti-Doane, the latter headed by Gen. John Taylor Cooper. At the election, Dr. Doane, who of course presided, declared certain voters disqualified. When the votes were counted, it was found that one warden and six vestrymen had been elected; for the remaining vacancies—one warden and three vestrymen—the vote was a tie. On

^{*}DeMille, The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church, Chapter VI.

the same evening, at the rectory, the ballots were recounted, and it was found that the "rector's ticket" had won the other positions by one vote.

General Cooper and his partisans promptly appealed to the bishop. Meanwhile, Dr. Doane, acting by the advice of counsel, retracted his decision in the second count, and held that the old vestry should still continue to function. Bishop Potter dismissed the charges of "ritualism" as unworthy of serious consideration, and exonerated Dr. Doane of the more serious charges of trickery in the election. The vestry, thus rebuffed, took their revenge by dismissing the organist, Mr. Whitney, on three days' notice, and by publishing a pamphlet setting forth their case. Thus the matter stood when the primary convention of the new diocese met.

Bishop Doane left a quantity of manuscript notes for an intended autobiography. These are in my hands, and from them I quote concerning the St. Peter's fracas and also concerning the election of

the bishop:

"I began my rectorship here as I did in Hartford, with a Bishop Potter had told me that while my election had been unanimous, one of the Vestry was bitterly opposed, and when he offered to tell me who it was, I declined to know, but I soon found out. On the Saturday night before my first Sunday, I went up into the choir loft, then at the west end of the church, to hear the choir practice. After selecting the hymn, I listened for a while, and then I said to the organist, 'This is very fine music and very well sung, but we begin Lent next Wednesday, and then I shall be obliged to have the music simpler, and such as the people can take part in,' whereupon the chairman of the music committee said to me, 'Dr. Doane, you had better take care of your end of the church, and leave this end to us,' but I said, 'My church is a circle and has no ends,' whereupon the trouble began. The chairman, the organist and the bass singer rallied some parishioners to their way of thinking, and they proposed and prepared to compel me to resign.

"I went quietly on, and when the time came for the Easter election, I advised a change in the composition of the vestry, so that we could work together harmoniously, and then came the stir, the effort on both sides to secure votes to change the vestry or to ask my resignation. It was a long and painful period of disquiet and disturbance and division, and when the election came, at which I presided, there was a challenge of votes, some of which I acknowledged, some which I accepted, taking the votes and putting them into the closed box, stuffing unlawful votes in with my pencil, the accusers said. At the end, my supporters carried the day, but three of the malcontents referred the matter to the bishop, and asked my trial. Bishop Potter took the evidence, examined it carefully, and came to Albany with his decision. He sent for me to see him in dear Mr. Mead's house, told me that he had decided in my favor, and wanted to read me

the decision, which I declined to hear. He said, 'It is a great disappointment to me, I brought you here in the hope you would be elected bishop at the primary convention of the new diocese, but of course that is now impossible, and I advise you to re-

sign.' . .

"Of course there was more or less mention of my name in the month before the convention, but to my mind my election seemed unlikely to the point of impossibility. There was then strenuous opposition on the part of a number of people in my own parish here, and in some of the other parishes. My very earnest effort and desire was to secure the election of the Rev. Dr. Mahan, and I remember preaching a sermon in the Church of the Holy Cross in Troy, at a meeting that was then called the old Northern Congregation of New York, taking for the text "Isaac digged agains the wells of water which Abraham his father had digged," as illustrating the motive and work of the Oxford Movement of restoration and not innovation. Dr. Tucker said to me afterwards, "That sermon has taken away my last hope of your being made bishop." However, the convention met in St. Peter's Church, Bishop Potter presiding. The whole diocese had been flooded with copies of a pamphlet in which the opposing vestrymen recapitulated all my sins and offenses. From the beginning, Dr. Huntington and I were the only serious candidates. He was elected on the second ballot by the lay vote, and on the third ballot I was elected by the clerical vote. On the ninth ballot I was elected by a large clerical and lay majority. I had written to decline the use of my name, but Bishop Potter wouldn't hear of it, and before the last ballot had been taken. Dr. Hopkins. who had earnestly advocated my election, came to me and said. "You had better go out to the rectory now, the bishop is in the box."

APPENDIX III

THE REV. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, JR., TO BISHOP-ELECT DOANE

[An unpublished letter]

Burlington, Vt. Feast of the Circumcision, 1869

Rev. & Dear Brother,

You are right. Stick to it, & "fight it out on that line," even if you are never consecrated. For your comfort, I can tell you that the same game was tried on Bp. Young, for the same cause, signing the request to my dear Father for his opinion on Ritualism. Dr. Young regarded the letter as an insult, and never even acknowledged its receipt: which I think was the better course. My advice to him was

¹John Freeman Young (October 30, 1820—November 15, 1885) had been consecrated second bishop of Florida on July 25, 1867.

to write a letter over his own name to the Church papers denouncing the insult, and the man by name who was guilty of it. I am not sure that the advice was wise, I therefore do not repeat it. I do not think there is any danger that the opposition will be successful. I write today to Bishop Young, who I am sure will do all he can with the Southern Bishops. I shall see Bishop Bissell² and soon, and am sure he will be all right, as will be the St. Com. of Vt. when it meets.

We beat them in both Houses of Gen. Con. & it is not possible that we shd. be defeated now. The Bp. of Michigan³ represents quite a number of those who are "No Ritualists." If I thought advisable, I am ready to come out over my own name, stating the insult to the Dead, in taking it for granted that the mere asking him to express an opinion is to be considered as a disqualification for the Episcopate! I think I could put it in such a light that few of them would wish to be counted on that line. Let me know if W[estern] N[ew] Y[ork] [Bishop A. C. Coxe] is going to meddle again. By the way, the best joke of the campaign would be for you to tell Bp. Kemper that as to the Real Presence your views are the same as those of the bishop of Western New York [A. C. Coxe], & say that you hope they will be no disqualification for the Episcopate! Wouldn't it be rich?—if one could humiliate himself to answer at all.

[The rest of the letter deals with the proposed seal of the diocese.]

Ever faithfully

Yr. ob. ser. in the Church,

H. Jr.

The Rev. Dr. Doane, Bp.-Elect of Albany.

²WILLIAM HENRY AUGUSTUS BISSELL (November 10, 1814—May 14, 1893) was consecrated bishop of Vermont June 3, 1868.

³Samuel Allen McCoskry (November 9, 1804—August 1, 1886) was first bishop of Michigan, 1836-1878.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST BISHOP OF ALBANY

It is impossible to understand the present diocese of Albany without a thorough knowledge of the principles and personality of its first bishop. William Croswell Doane has been dead thirty years. Two other bishops, both of them men of stature in the episcopate, have followed him in the see. Yet even today, the diocese of Albany is to a large extent the expression of the mind of its first bishop.

I. EARLY YEARS

William Croswell Doane was born on March 2, 1832, in the city of Boston, where his father, the Rev. George Washington Doane, was then rector of Trinity Church. Before the year was out, the father had been elected bishop of New Jersey: he was one of that notable group of bishops who carried on the work of Hobart during the stormy days when the Oxford Movement was extending its influence into this country. Of all the American bishops, Doane was most closely in touch with Rose, Keble. and Pusey. The younger Doane grew up, therefore, in the episcopal mansion at Burlington, New Jersey, in one of the focal spots of Anglo-Catholicism in America. He received his college education in Burlington College, an evanescent institution of learning founded by his father, read theology at home, and was ordained deacon March 6, 1853. This long and intimate contact with his great father moulded the younger man in his father's very image and likeness; there is an extraordinary correspondence between the views, the character, and the faults of the two men.

Until his ordination as priest, March 16, 1856, Doane served his father as assistant at St. Mary's Church, Burlington; in 1856 he established a new parish in Burlington, St. Barnabas', where he remained until 1860, a year after his father's death. In 1860 he became rector of St. Mary's. In 1863 he was called to the important parish of St. John's, Hartford, Connecticut, where he followed two strong men, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, later bishop of Western New York, and Edward A. Washburn, rector of Calvary Church, New York City, for many years. Here, although suspected for his "Puseyite leanings," he caught the eye of two men



The Right Reverend William Croswell Doane

May 2, 1832—May 17, 1913

Consecrated February 2, 1869, the Ninety-Second in the American

Succession, as

First Bishop of Albany

1869—1913



who were to be of great importance in his later career, Bishop Potter of New York, and Bishop John Williams, then coadjutor of Connecticut, and for years Doane's closest friend in the House of Bishops. In 1867, he was called to St. Peter's, Albany; the evidence clearly indicates that Bishop Potter, who was largely instrumental in securing the call, had already visualized Doane as the first bishop of the new diocese then about to be formed.

II. DOANE'S CHURCHMANSHIP

Only thirty-six years old at his consecration to the episcopate, his principles were already set and his character formed. Like his father, he was a staunch High Churchman of the Hobartian school, magnifying the Catholic nature of the Church, insistent on its authority, and the validity and necessity of its orders. But he did not stop there. Unlike many of the Hobartians, he welcomed the warmth and color, the strong sacramentalism, that came to the Catholic movement from the Tractarians. At the time of his election to the episcopate, he was closely allied with men like Milo Mahan, George F. Seymour, and the younger Hopkins, who were the radical Catholic leaders of their day. 1 Most of their principles he attempted to put into practice. Frequent communions, and the communion service as the principal act of worship on every Sunday; the cathedral system; emphasis on the Church's responsibility for Christian education; the desirability of reviving monasticism in the Anglican Church: the erection of small dioceses and their combination into functioning provinces—all these were among the cardinal points advocated by this group.

In the seventies, Doane was regarded with suspicion as an advanced ritualist; we have seen the difficulties his views caused at St. Peter's, and once he was established in his own cathedral, he introduced eucharistic lights and vestments. Richardson tells us that "he himself heard confessions, and instructed his clergy and people in the value of the sacrament of penance with a frankness and plainness of teaching that disturbed the evangelical members of the diocese greatly."² In the stormy General

¹In 1866 he was nominated by DeKoven for assistant bishop of Wisconsin.

²G. L. Richardson, William Croswell Doane, First Bishop of Albany (Hartford, 1933), p. 35. Doane's own words on the subject are worth quoting:

"The use of private confession is an inherent right of sinners, and the power of absolution is involved in the office of every Priest. With Rome, it is used as food. To the Protestant it is poison. With us it is neither, but a medicine which needs careful prescribing and administering, and infrequent use." [Albany Convertion Large 1979, 21] bany Convention Journal, 1879, p. 31.]

Conventions of 1871 and 1874, Bishop Doane was one of the leaders in the fight against ritual legislation.

But like most leaders of reform, there came a stage in his career when he stood while the movement which he had led went on. Always intensely anti-Roman, the ceremonial practices of the younger generation disturbed him greatly. He never cared for colored vestments, though after 1900 he tolerated their use in the cathedral. When Bishop Weller was consecrated Grafton's coadjutor at Fond du Lac-a cope and mitre ceremonial that stirred up a veritable tempest in the American Church—Doane. always a facile writer of verse, dashed off a set of disapproving lines that are genuinely funny. He was a bitter opponent of non-communicating attendance; he insisted on the ritual propriety of Good Friday celebrations; he strongly objected to Reservation, to the genuflection at the Incarnatus, and to the insertion of the Benedictus Qui Venit. He boldly advocated pravers for the dead when such a Catholic bishop as Whittingham was opposing them as illegal; he encouraged and celebrated requiems. He opposed the movement to change the name of the Church. I am assured by one who was present on the occasion, that he berated the extremists among his clergy by telling them, in diocesan convention, "I know you are not Papists, but you are apists."

In one other respect Bishop Doane stood still while his age advanced. The years of his episcopate were those in which the question of biblical criticism became one of the leading matters of debate in the mind of the Church. Doane was too widely read a man, a man of too great contacts, to be a mere obscurantist. But though he paid lip service to Charles Gore and his school, though he praised Lux Mundi, he opposed pretty vigorously all that Lux Mundi stood for.

III. THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATESMAN

There is considerable indication that as Doane grew older, his churchmanship mellowed. Not that he ever lost hold of fundamental principles; these were too much a part of his very being. But the widening contacts of his later years, as he mingled with bishops and archbishops, with financiers and mountaineers, eventually converted the suspected leader of a partisan group into an ecclesiastical statesman in the best sense of the word.

Deeply interested in Prayer Book revision, his contribution to the Prayer Book of 1892 was well indicated by the Rev. William R. Huntington, one of the best of the Broad Church men of his era, who publicly stated,

"To the fearlessness, the patience, the kindly temper, and the resolute purpose of William Croswell Doane, Bishop of Albany, this Church for these results stands deeply and lastingly indebted."

When the unfortunate and unwise attempt was made to block the consecration of Phillips Brooks as bishop of Massachusetts, Bishop Doane, as one of the acknowledged leaders of the Catholic party, was largely instrumental in defeating the

attempt.

It was this combination of breadth with firmness that made him, during his later years, one of the outstanding figures in the Lambeth Conference. His granddaughter tells how, in one of the conference sessions, he jumped to his feet and interrupted a bishop who had been discussing at some length the relations of the Anglican Church with "other Christian bodies" by saying, "Gentlemen, before we go on with this discussion, can't we discard this graveyard simile, and talk of other Christian churches?" It was after the Conference of 1897 that the New York Times remarked, "Bishop Doane, of Albany, has made perhaps the deepest impression as an original thinker with a philosophical mind. He has been considered the real leader of the American House of Bishops by virtue of commanding intellect, earnestness of purpose, and courtly manner."

There can be little question as to Bishop Doane's leadership, both in the House of Bishops and in the Lambeth Conference. Unlike the writer in the *Times*, I should ascribe that leadership less to "commanding intellect" than to sheer force of personality. There is no indication that Doane possessed any of the attributes of an original thinker. To say so is no derogation from his greatness, which lay in other directions than that of pure intellect. A statesman is primarily a man who puts philosophies into action. It is fairly evident that almost from the day of his election, Bishop Doane visualized clearly what manner of diocese he could make. Like his father, he was a man capable of vast and farreaching plans. The missionary expansion of Albany, the Cathedral of All Saints, the Child's Hospital, the Sisterhood—

these were all in his mind from the beginning of his episcopate. And behind these plans was the driving power, the autocratic will, to make them realities. It was one of his weaknesses, as it was the weakness of his father before him, that in planning he sometimes took small heed of practicality. The cathedral as it stands today, magnificent but unfinished, is the measure of both his strength and his weakness. But the strength far outmatches the weakness. It was his fate, wherever he went, to impose his will on those about him.³ As a parish priest, he ruled, despite insurrections. As head of a diocese, it was his policy that the diocese carried out, except when that policy ran headlong into the immovable wall of financial shortage. And as a bishop of the Catholic Church, he was always a force to be reckoned with.

IV. THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICIAN

Now the way of an autocrat in a democratic society is often hard. That Bishop Doane, for all his autocratic temperament, succeeded for so many years in ruling effectively such a turbulent democracy as an American diocese was largely due to the fact that along with his commanding will went a large measure of ability in practical politics. In no sense a Rotarian, he was able to deal with men of all sorts and conditions. From J. P. Morgan to the driver of the Adirondack stage, from the archbishop of Canterbury to the humblest missionary priest—he could be at ease with all. His addresses to the diocesan convention reveal an intimate knowledge of the personalities of the diocese. He knew not only the clergy, but every layman and every laywoman of any weight or importance, and he made a point of singling out for special mention those who had done good service to the diocese in any capacity.

But this political ability had its less pleasant side. He could be, and was, a politician in the bad sense of the term. As one follows his career, one is often reminded of the complicated

³It may be a lowering of the dignity of history, but I cannot forbear telling one anecdote which reveals at once Bishop Doane's ceremonial views and his dominating personality. The Rev. Paul Blank had recently emerged from a curacy to become rector of St. Irenaeus's Church. One Saturday the newspapers announced that the next day there would be "Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament" at St. Irenaeus'. On Monday, Father Paul was summoned to the episcopal residence. After a few minutes of general conversation, the following dialogue ensued:

[&]quot;Paul, I understand you are having Benediction at your church now."
"Yes, Bishop."

[&]quot;Paul, I don't like it. Paul, I won't have it. PAUL, GO HOME AND STOP IT."

Paul went home and stopped it.

series of manoeuvers by which his father, when accused of financial shiftiness, kept himself from being "Onderdonked." The famous vestry election at St. Peter's had its dubious side. He could ruthlessly discard an associate who had outgrown his usefulness; some highly unpleasant story lies behind his break with John Henry Hopkins, Jr. He intrigued on all sides to secure the election of Bishop Morrison⁴ as his coadjutor; his failure in this matter was the one serious political defeat he ever suffered. And yet in all this one must acquit him of any personal selfseeking. It was the ecclesiastical mind in operation; filled with his unselfish purposes, any means to secure those purposes seemed iustifiable.

V. THE POET

One turns with relief from this, the one blemish on a great character, to consider a much more sympathetic aspect of the man. Statesmanship and poetry seldom go together in the making of a character, but both existed in the complex personality of Bishop Doane, as they did in that of his father. Had Bishop Doane never written a line of verse, we should have known him as a man of poetic temperament. He was profoundly in love with beauty—beauty of ritual, beauty in music, beauty in architecture, and above all, beauty in nature. His convention addresses teem with reference to the natural beauties encountered on his visitations—references that are no mere conventional gestures, but the expression of a deeply rooted instinct.⁵ This was no small advantage to the bishop of a diocese predominantly rural, whose work necessarily included many long and arduous journeys through the half-wild county of the Catskills and the Adirondacks. To another man, they would have been a difficult labor: to Bishop Doane they were a joy.

4James Dow Morrison (1844-1934) was at the time missionary bishop of Duluth (1897-1922). He had been archdeacon of Ogdensburg, 1881-1897.

5"We started, each in a boat, with a guide, for a day of memorable delight. Floating all day long in a dream of undisfigured beauty, with the luxury of 'nothing to do,' the poetry of motion, and such surroundings, as Switzerland cannot surpass except with snow, we rowed through one lake after another, the Upper and Lower St. Regis, The Slues, Big Clear Pond, the Upper Saranac, and Round Lake, and through the winding Saranac River, with beds of pond lilies in full bloom, and then down the Saranac Lake to Martins.

1. It was a golden, glorious day of unalloyed delights, with water and sky and Island and mountains, in endless variety.

"The next morning, after an early celebration, we started in a wagon for a drive of continuous beauty; with points in it that can hardly be surpassed; through North Elba, to the Wilmington Notch; then on through the Notch right under great old Whiteface, rising sheer, 5,000 feet, with the broken 'Gates of the Pass', on the other side, and the Wilmington Falls, and the Ausable River, whose wild and picturesque beauty I could not bear to leave."

In many men, the poetic instinct lives without the gift of poetic expression, but not in Bishop Doane. It is a simple fact that "he lisped in numbers." His papers, so meagre in other respects, abound with verses. Almost any occasion was sufficient stimulus to start the bishop into versification—witty, humorous, tender, devout. Of his hymns, one only survives, "Ancient of Days"; and that, having become highly popular, suffers today from being wedded to an unfortunate tune. But if the bishop's verses are worth little to the anthologist, they are highly important to the biographer.

This, then, is the man who made the diocese of Albany—great builder, great ecclesiastic, great man.

CHAPTER VI

THE BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL

MONG the many plans budding in the fertile mind of the new bishop, none bulked larger than the establishment of a cathedral. He had almost inherited the cathedral idea: his father, the great bishop of New Jersey, was the first bishop in this country to visualize a diocese centered in a cathedral church with its attendant group of schools. At Burlington, New Jersey, he had attempted to realize this vision, though on a very small scale, and with no attempt at what might be called an "architectural cathedral."

Many of the American bishops had continued to hold the rectorate of a parish after their election to the episcopate; but on May 18, 1869, Bishop Doane severed his connection with St. Peters. 1 It was apparently the hope of the vestry of the mother church of the diocese that it might function as a cathedral, as is evinced by their resolution at the primary convention of the diocese:

"Resolved. That the age and location of St. Peter's Church, as well as the election of its rector to the Episcopate, suggests the establishment and maintenance of such relations with the Bishop as will tend to the increased dignity and importance of the Parish, the convenience of the Bishop and the benefit of the Diocese, and we therefore respectfully tender to the Bishop and Diocese of Albany the free use of St. Peter's Church edifice for all such Episcopal acts and Diocesan purposes as may be agreeable to the Bishop and beneficial to the Diocese."2

I. INITIAL PLANS AND ORGANIZATION

For the time being, the offer was accepted, but Bishop Doane had other plans in mind. These plans he hinted at in accepting the offer of the vestry of St. Peter's.

¹In an extant letter to John V. L. Pruyn, dated October 22, 1869, Bishop Doane indicated his willingness to make St. Peter's the cathedral, provided there were a vestry and rector with whom he could work in harmony.

²Albany Convention Journal, 1869, p. 54.

"I think no Episcopate complete that has not a centre, the cathedral, as well as a circumference, the Diocese. But I have no ambition to play at a cathedral (or at anything else) which is an utter unreality, unless the seats are free, and the administration of the parish legally, formally and finally committed to a management of which the Bishop and his clergy form an integral part with the laity. What the future has in store I do not know. God helping me, if I live long enough the Diocese of Albany will have the reality of a cathedral, with all that it involves of work and worship, in frequent services, in schools and houses of mercy of every kind."

For three years, nothing was done to actuate this plan, Bishop Doane being immersed in the organization of the diocese and the extension of its missionary work. Meanwhile, St. Agnes' School had been founded, with immediate success. A gift of fifty thousand dollars from Mr. Erastus Corning, Sr., made possible the incorporation of the Corning Foundation for Christian work in the city and diocese of Albany; a block of land on the north side of Elk Street was bought by this corporation, and St. Agnes' School erected on part of the site. The necessity of a chapel for the school brought again to the fore the cathedral idea. On June 8, 1872, therefore, the standing committee of the diocese gave its consent to the organization of a new parish in the city of Albany, designed to be the cradle of the cathedral. On the corner of Elk and Hawk Streets, one block north of the state capitol, where the Child's Hospital now stands, was the disused Townsend Brothers Furnace, a low brick building painted a dull buff. This was bought and furnished as a temporary home for the cathedral. It was not an imposing structure. I quote from a manuscript by Mrs. Charles S. Hamlin:

"The inside walls of the chapel were painted a gloomy blue that made it dark and dreary. Instead of regular pews, there were long settees with red cushions holding about six or seven people each, and these were raised from the floor by one step. The choir was raised by three steps, and there was a sort of wooden arched attempt of the regular cathedral screen."

³Grace Church offered to surrender its parochial rights and become the bishop's church.

^{4&}quot;The big black letters of the (original) name would work out, and then the hat would be passed around to raise enough for a new coat of paint." Hamlin MSS.

The cathedral, it will be noted, was also to be a parish church—a measure rendered essential by the necessity for local support; the resources of the diocese were already strained to the bursting point. A fair number of families migrated from St. Peter's to the cathedral chapel—Huns, Cornings, Van Rensselaers, Van Vechtens, Throops, Marvins, and of course the bishop's close friend, Orlando Meads—and with the pupils of St. Agnes' School, made up a fair congregation. On All Saints' Day, 1872, the chapel was formally opened by the bishop. The Rev. Hobart Cooke, deacon, assisted the bishop in carrying on the parish work. On March 27, 1873, the cathedral was incorporated by special act of the legislature; the incorporators being Bishop Doane: the Rev. Messrs. John Ireland Tucker. John H. H. Brown. Hiram W. Beers, Theodore Babcock, and John Townsend, clergy; and Messrs. Orlando Meads, Erastus Corning, Amos Palmer, Walter Wood and James Forsyth, laymen. A significant section of the act provides that seats in the cathedral shall always be free.

The summer of 1873 the bishop spent in England studying the organization and workings of the English cathedrals; much of what he there learned he retailed to the diocesan convention of 1874—the first convention to meet in the cathedral chapel. One paragraph in particular summarized beautifully his ideals for the cathedral, both as a structure and as a working organization:

"The Bishop's Church, as the chief Church of the Diocese, ought to be the best of all; but its only two essentials are, as a building, that it shall be large, because it is everybody's Church, where all may come to worship; in which the whole Diocese, by representation, can gather; to which may centre, for the great acts of worship, all those concerned in, or cared for, by the Institutions of learning and mercy that will gather about it; and for the same reason, it ought to be free, because every child, and every man and woman, in the Diocese has a baptismal right to worship in it. . . . The history of all Cathedrals teaches one lesson, about this matter of building, that we might well learn. We want, in America, to do everything today; and to finish instantly whatever we begin. The result is, poor churches, badly built, cheaply furnished; and lying inside and out with stucco and staining. The great Churches of the world are the growth of centuries, sometimes; and the man who builds a tenth part of a Church well, leaves a truer and better monument than he who builds it all, meanly. I had rather put an unhewn pillar in,

rough with the scars of its splitting from the virgin rock, and let a third generation shape the shaft and carve the chapiter, till the faces in it speak and the flowers in it smell; than shape, out of sanded wood or moulded plaster, the fairest lie that ever seemed to support what would crush its unreality to powder, if the weight rested on it."⁵

To this high ideal, the bishop ever held firm.

For the time, the matter of a cathedral structure lay in abeyance. The cathedral chapel, crude as it was, would do. The bishop's first efforts were to perfect the cathedral organization. By the end of 1873, the deacon, the Rev. Hobart Cooke, had been reinforced by the addition of the Rev. Christopher Knauff, a priest skilled in music, and the Rev. Edgar T. Chapman, who also had charge of the Church of the Messiah, Rensselaer. The parish report for 1873 shows 107 communicants and contributions of a little over \$10,000.

The constitution of the cathedral, adopted in 1874, reveals clearly the magnitude of his plans for the cathedral organization. There was to be a chapter, consisting of the bishop, a dean, a precentor, a chancellor, and a treasurer; four minor canons, and six laymen. In addition, to tie the cathedral into the work of the diocese there was to be a further body known as the general chapter, consisting of the archdeacons of the diocese, the members of the standing committee, the members of the board of missions. the deputies to General Convention, the rectors of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Albany, and the secretary and treasurer of the diocese. The bishop was given extensive powers. A careful study of the English cathedrals had convinced Bishop Doane that the situation so often met with in those august bodies, where the bishop is almost an intruder in his own cathedral church, was not to be tolerated. The bishop, therefore, was made head of the corporation, with the right to nominate all clerical members of the chapter, the use of the cathedral for all episcopal acts or diocesan functions, and the right to celebrate or preach on due notice given the dean. The minor canons were to be unmarried men. under thirty years of age at the time of their appointment, living together in a clergy house, and serving normally for four years. In setting up this rather grandiose plan the bishop obviously had two objects in mind; the carrying out of the cathedral services with due state and solemnity, and the making of the cathedral

⁵Albany Convention Journal, 1874, pp. 11-12.

a missionary center for the city and the diocese. Needless to say, to this day the plan has never been carried out in anything like its entirety.

On June 6, 1878, there came a shift in the cathedral staff, and the Rev. James Haughton was elected first dean, and the Rev. Edwin Coan, precentor, succeeding the Rev. Christopher Knauff.

II. ERECTION OF THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING

The original intention was to build the cathedral on the site of the cathedral chapel, but when it was discovered that the land would not support a heavy building, the younger Mr. Corning bought a strip of land on the south side of Elk Street, where the cathedral now stands, and gave it to the chapter. The purchase was completed June 30, 1882.

Two architects were asked to submit plans for the building. Henry H. Richardson of Boston, the greatest architectural genius that America had produced, and Robert W. Gibson, a resident of Albany. Richardson's design, a typical creation of Richardsonian Romanesque, resembling in many respects the structure he eventually built for Trinity Church, Boston, was rejected in favor of Mr. Gibson's Gothic plan, which was accepted April 30, 1883. In an era when "purity" was a shibboleth among architects who worked in Gothic, when the utmost pains were taken to see that every detail of a neo-Gothic church reproduced exactly the features of the particular type and age of Gothic which had been taken as a model, Gibson had the vision to feel ahead toward the free Gothic of the present day. It is impossible to label his cathedral, with its decorated west window, its heavy, almost Romanesque columns, its central lantern, and its decidedly French west front—these two last existing as yet only on paper by any of the familiar Gothic revival labels. It is an original and grand creation.

The chapter wisely decided not to start building until \$100,000 had been secured, and not, therefore, until the spring of

6"Thursday, Oct. 5, 1876. I held, in the Cathedral Chapel, the Service of Installation of the four Principal persons. I installed the Precentor first, since the duty of assigning seats to the Canons belongs to him, as in charge of the Choir; and he installed the Dean, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer. It was a service of very impressive significance and solemnity; very finely rendered, musically speaking, and moving on with marked dignity. . . . As a practical evidence of Diocesan usefulness it is to be noted, that the Cathedral this year has supplied eighty-one services in Parishes, vacant, or where the clergyman was, for the time, disabled; besides our regular services, since Advent, in West Albany and Slingerlands." [From the Doane Papers.]

1884 was it possible to break ground. On Whitsun-Tuesday, June 3, 1884, the cornerstone was laid. The following account is taken from a contemporary newspaper:

"The procession, headed by the Tenth Regiment Band, consisted of the Albany Burgesses Corps, the Governor [Grover Cleveland], Adjutant-General Farnsworth, the Mayor of the City, and members of the Common Council, the Choir of the Cathedral, the Clergy of the Diocese, visiting clergy in surplices, and other clergymen of the city, the Bishops of Springfield, Fond du Lac, and Central New York; the Bishop of Albany, the Chapter of the Cathedral, the Architect, the Faculty and students of St. Stephen's College, Divinity students, Wardens and Vestrymen of parishes, and officers of organized missions, and other invited guests, the Catholic Guild, the men of the Cathedral congregation. The procession left the Cathedral Chapel at 2:45 o'clock, the Choir and clergy chanting Psalm 122, Laetatus sum. Arriving at the place . . . the service was completed."

The bishop was determined to insure, as far as was humanly possible, that the building should be finally carried on in accordance with the plans of Mr. Gibson. He therefore used all the building funds on hand to construct the foundations of the whole structure. When the funds were exhausted, these were covered over, and the work stopped. It is a commentary on the magnitude of his plans that today, after the lapse of more than sixty years, the foundations of the western towers still stand with their temporary caps, as they were left in 1884. In 1885, work was resumed, and the choir walls were carried up a stage. The bishop himself explains the method used in construction:

"The building of the Cathedral was a slow and difficult process. It progressed in stages, sometimes quite far apart. But that gave time to Mr. Gibson, the architect, who was then living in Albany, and I (sic) to discuss and decide all the little details of the arrangement for the inside and out, and the proposal was to put up a building which would hold a large congregation with a deep Cathedral choir, and to put it up in such a way that it could not be enlarged but completed by building up, that is to say, we built what might be called the first floor of the nave, the two transepts and the choir."

The organization in 1886 of the Women's Diocesan League provided a considerable amount of funds, over \$60,000 altogether, and with this and a substantial number of gifts from sources outside the diocese, it was again possible to resume work. By now, matters had gone far enough that it was considered safe to raise some money on a mortgage. And so, by 1888, the building was ready for use. All the foundations were laid; the choir and the nave were completed as far as the triforium; the transepts, the west front, and the temporary clerestory were of brick; the whole capped by a wooden roof. Even in this condition, it was a noble structure, especially the interior, where the unfinished nature of the building was less apparent.

On Tuesday, November 20, 1888, the cathedral, as far as it was completed, was dedicated in the presence of the presiding bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Williams of Connecticut, the bishops of Nassau, Minnesota, Tennessee, and Nebraska, and the members of the diocesan convention. The sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, bishop of New York, a son of the diocese of Albany, who was even then beginning work on the vast Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Two days later, the Very Rev. Wilford L. Robbins was installed as dean. Dean Robbins held office for fifteen years—the longest deanship in the history of the cathedral, leaving in 1903 to become dean of the General Theological Seminary. A strong Catholic, and much more of a ceremonialist than Bishop Doane, his deanship saw the cathedral grow in splendor of worship, and in depth of spiritual life.

For fourteen years nothing more was added to the structure. In 1902, a gift of \$200,000 from the bishop's close friend, Mr. J. P. Morgan, Sr., made possible the resumption of work on the choir. The work progressed slowly for two years, and on November 15, 1904, the completed choir was consecrated. And now, for the first time, it was possible to gain some conception of what the completed cathedral would be like. Seventy feet high from mosaic pavement to groined roof, three hundred and twenty feet long from high altar to west door, its dimensions bear comparison with those of many English cathedrals. Three of the windows deserve special mention: the great east window, whose mellow tone lights up the whole choir; the rose window in the north transept, the tracery of which is copied from the Bishop's Eye in Lincoln Cathedral; and the lovely little jewel window over the altar in the Lady chapel. The furnishings of the choir were

worthy of their setting. On one of his European trips the bishop had discovered and brought back some seventeenth century choir stalls from a dismantled church in Bruges. These were augmented by modern stalls made to harmonize with the older, most of which are memorials or the gifts of the parishes and missions of the diocese.

But it was never Bishop Doane's intention that the cathedral should be a mere empty architectural memorial. It was to be a center of mission work. From it were established St. Giles', Castleton, St. Margaret's, Menands, and St. Alban's in the city of Albany. It was also to be a model of ceremonial—a sort of diocesan norm. At first, this ceremonial was very simple, though much attention was given to the music of the services, and the weekly Eucharist and the daily offices were carefully observed. In the late eighties, the linen chasuble began to be used; finally, under Dean Robbins, the full eucharistic vestments. Bishop Nelson introduced the cope and mitre. But with all the enrichments, the cathedral service remained a strictly Prayer Book service, and has served to a large extent as a diocesan standard.

III. ST. AGNES' SCHOOL

Just as his father, the bishop of New Jersey, had surrounded his pro-cathedral at Burlington with a group of related institutions, so Bishop Doane planned to make the cathedral at Albany the center of other types of work. In April, 1870, he wrote Miss Helen Dunham, a communicant of Trinity Church, Watervliet, as follows:

"I am very anxious to establish in Albany, a home for the sick, part hospital and part home for incurables. I have no faith in such a work unless it be undertaken for the love of God. And I am very anxious to secure two or three Christian women who will be willing to come and take the care and control of the House, with the simple security of their support, in clothing and every way, all their lives long.

"I write to ask whether you and your aunt, Miss Sage, would be inclined to come to me, and give yourselves to such a work, which in God's good time will grow into a duly or-

ganized Sisterhood."7

To this call Miss Dunham immediately responded, and was shortly joined by three other women. The first work to be under-

 $^{^7}Mss.$ letter in the Doane Papers.

taken by them was a school for girls. On Wednesday, September 7, 1870, St. Agnes' School for Girls was opened in temporary quarters. It was an immediate success. Seven teachers were secured, who "worked for the work's sake," and sixty pupils, forty of them boarders, were enrolled for the first year. At the convention of 1871, the bishop was able to report in glowing terms the success of the first year:

"Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, were spent in attendance on the closing examinations of S. Agnes' School; which, in the judgment of all present, reflected equal honor on the teachers and pupils. I confess I never heard History, Latin and Mathematics better taught, or better learned. Neither freedom from the excessive extravagance of our fashionable schools, nor the presence of careful religious culture, alone; but the highest standard of intellectual training, added to these, is the aim of the School."

In the fall of 1871, the school opened with seventy pupils, and had taken over three private houses to care for them. Even so, it was already necessary to refuse applications for admission. Meanwhile the Corning foundation had been established, and thus funds were available to begin proper school buildings. The block west of the cathedral chapel was bought, plans were drawn up by Thomas Fuller, an Albany architect, and work was pushed on rapidly. On June 19, 1872, the first commencement of the school was held, thirteen pupils being graduated; and on the same day, the corner-stone of the new building was laid. By October of the same year, the work was sufficiently advanced to permit of the buildings being blessed, and the hearth fire was solemnly lighted by the bishop. To this day, on the eve of All Saints, the bishop of Albany still kindles the hearth fire every year.

Three things contributed greatly to the growth and excellence of the school. First, and perhaps most important, was the close personal supervision of the bishop. He was always in and about the school; he knew every girl by name; he presided at every important school event. Second, perhaps, was the enthusiasm engendered by the new buildings. In the first year after they were occupied, the registration had increased to one hundred and four pupils. But the heart of the school always lay in the cathedral. As we have seen, the cathedral chapel came into being

⁸Convention Journal, 1871, p. 134.

primarily as the chapel of the school; every day at evensong, every Sunday morning, the school as a body attended the worship of the cathedral. Some evidence of what this meant, not only to the school, but to the diocese at large, is indicated by the constant confirmations from the student body. In 1875, fourteen of the St. Agnes girls were confirmed; in 1878, twenty-seven. On June 6, 1880, at the first reunion of graduates, eighty alumni were present, attesting by their attendance the holding power of a thoroughly Christian school.

The first principal was Miss Edith Laurie Chase, Miss Dunham's associate in the beginning of the sisterhood. She proved an unfortunate choice and in 1874 withdrew from the school and the sisterhood. From that time on, the school was under lay heads, the first one being Miss E. W. Boyd, who carried on the work of the school with admirable success for twenty-five years. Mother Helen remained "head of the house", and for years the relation between school and sisterhood was close. By 1894, the school had increased to 38 teachers and 208 pupils, about its maximum growth.

IV. THE SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY CHILD JESUS

Meanwhile the sisterhood, now partly separated from the school, was going on with a work of its own. The constitution of this order demands mention as a unique experiment in the history of Anglican Christianity. The constitution begins with the following preamble:

"To the Glory of God, and in thankful remembrance of the Holy Child Jesus, His subjection in the home at Nazareth, His sitting with the Doctors in the Temple, His increase

in wisdom, and in favor with God and Man.

"The objects of the Sisterhood are to provide for the care of the sick, and the sound training and teaching of children, and as God shall give the means and the opportunity, to undertake such other works of charity and mercy, as our hands shall find to do.

"It is the purpose of the following rules, to secure by God's blessing, a simple, earnest, sober, religious tone in the Sisterhood, to promote the habit of prayer, watchfulness, and dependence on God: to make each Sister a representative of Jesus Christ, ministering to those whom she serves, seeing Him in those to whom she ministers, and to conform





MOTHER HELEN
[HELEN C. DUNHAM]

MOTHER SUPERIOR OF THE
SISTERHOOD OF THE HOLY
CHILD JESUS, 1873-1902

SUSAN FENIMORE COOPER FIRST SUPERINTENDENT AND GUIDING SPIRIT OF THE OR-PHAN HOUSE OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR, COOPERSTOWN.



the Order entirely in faith, discipline, and worship, to the standard of the Catholic Church."

The officers of the order were to be a warden appointed by the bishop and a mother superior. The order was to keep the canonical hours of prayer, prime, sexts, vespers, and compline being said in the oratory, matins and evensong in the cathedral. There were three stages in entering the order; a prospective sister was to be an aspirant for a month, a postulant for three months, and a novice for two years. No sister was to be admitted under the age of twenty-five.

When one examines the vows, one discovers a queer situation. The final vows were of obedience only, no mention being made of

the usual complements of poverty and chastity.

On January 25, 1873, the Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus was formally opened, with two probationers and two associates. On November 29 of the same year, Helen C. Dunham and Edith Laurie Chase were admitted full sisters. For a time the order flourished. Miss Dunham, who as Mother Helen governed the order from 1873 to 1902, seems to have been exceptionally fitted for her task. In fact, it might be said that the order was the product of her personality plus the personality of Bishop Doane. and when the personalities were removed, the order died. Between 1873 and 1880, four more sisters were professed; between 1880 and 1890, ten more; between 1890 and 1900, eleven. And then, for reasons one can only conjecture, professions abruptly ceased. Miss Mary Stewart was professed in 1901 as Sister Lydia: since that time there have been no professions. It is notable that the cessation of professions almost coincides with the death of Mother Helen in 1902. A second cause for the decay of the order was undoubtedly the attitude of Bishop Nelson, who for some reason would have nothing to do with the order. The dying organization was governed from 1902 to 1921 by Mother Eliza, who was succeeded by Mother Alice, one of the two members surviving at this writing.

But during its best days, the order was accomplishing worth-while results. Early in 1875, the sisterhood undertook to open a hospital for children. On May 20, a temporary building for this purpose was blessed, and the work began with fifteen children as patients. On February 13, 1877, the permanent building, which had been erected near the site of the original cathedral chapel at a cost of \$14,000, was opened. So rapidly was it filled, that in 1880 a second building, St. John's House, was needed. A further and

permanent development was St. Margaret's House for Babies, erected in 1884. Both the hospital and the home for babies still function admirably.

In 1882, a building in Saratoga was opened as a convalescent home for children from the hospital. In 1886, Spencer Trask and his wife gave a building and land for St. Christina's Industrial School, which was committed to the care of the sisterhood. Eventually it was merged with the diocesan orphanage at Cooperstown as a full-fledged girls' school.

Cathedral, sisterhood, hospital, girls' school—these were not enough, and in 1875 we find the bishop embarked on a further undertaking. On October 4th of that year, he opened at Cooperstown, Bede Hall, a school for boys. This was a flat failure, and on May 28, 1877, was closed. Another institution located also at Cooperstown had a better history.

V. THE ORPHAN HOUSE OF THE HOLY SAVIOUR

On March 28, 1870, the Orphan House of the Holy Saviour was incorporated. While the bishop was interested, and was president of the trustees, the soul of the work was Susan Fenimore Cooper. In 1871 the orphanage was opened in a cottage, Miss Cooper acting as superintendent. On October 1, 1871, Bishop Tuttle held services at which eleven children were received. At once there was a demand for the services of the institution: fifty applications came in. For years the history of the Orphan House is that of a continuous struggle for funds to provide space for an ever-increasing number of children. In 1874, a larger cottage had been rented, and was crammed with twenty-three children. The supervisors of Otsego County were asking the institution to care for the children whom the supervisors had been farming out—but there was no room. In 1877 the trustees reported to convention that need for more space had forced four moves in six years. In 1879 convention set aside a Sunday for an offering for the orphanage, which produced nearly \$2,800. There were in that year fiftyfive children being cared for. In 1881 the start was made for a permanent building—a committee being appointed to raise \$10,000. This sum was raised, the building erected, and the orphanage flourished for many years.

By 1894, the twenty-fifth year of his episcopate, Bishop Doane could look around and see all his dreams of diocesan institutions well on their way toward fulfillment.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF THE CATHEDRAL CLERGY

DEANS

DEANS	
James Haughton	1880
Frank L. Norton	
Wilford L. Robbins	1903
Henry Russell Talbot	
Donald Mayo Brookman	
Albert Cecil Larned	
Charles C. W. Carver	
George Lynde Richardson	
Charles Smith Lewis	
Edward Randolph Welles	1940
Henry W. Roth	
Howard Samuel Kennedy	
OTHER CLERGY	
Edgar T. Chapman, Assistant at Cathedral	
Chapel	1
Hobart Cooke, Deacon Assistant at Cathedral	
Chapel	
Christopher W. Knauff, Assistant at Cathedral	
Chapel	6
John Townsend, Chancellor	
Edwin Coan, Precentor	
Thomas B. Fulcher, Minor Canon	
Chancellor, 1915-19	22
George W. Dean, Chancellor	
William R. Webb, Minor Canon	
George G. Carter, Chancellor	
Arthur P. Hunt, Minor Canon	
Francis B. Blodgett, Minor Canon	
Henry J. Quick, Curate	
James W. Lord, Curate	
Edward H. Schlueter, Minor Canon	
R. N. Turner, Curate	
William F. Kernan, Curate	
Stephen F. Sherman, Curate	
Donald M. Brookman, Minor Canon	
William Mason Cook, Chancellor	
Richard E. Armstrong, Curate	
Herbert A. S. Merrick, Canon	
Robert J. Evans, Curate	
Jay Russell Vaughan, Canon	
John L. Roney, Minor Canon1922-	

CHAPTER VII

DIOCESAN GROWTH UNDER BISHOP DOANE 1868-1894

IT is an indication of the greatness of Bishop Doane that for all his enthusiasm for the cathedral system, and we have seen that in his mind the cathedral system meant much more than the erection of a large building, he never lost sight of the fact that the diocese of Albany was basically missionary territory.

I. THE MISSIONARY PROBLEM

The missionary problem which the new diocese had to face was first of all a financial one of great magnitude. In 1868 there were in the diocese of New York seventy-five missionary stations, wholly or partly supported by diocesan funds. Total payments to missionaries from the missionary committee that year totalled \$8,791.16. The division of the diocese placed forty-two of these stations, with thirty-three resident priests, within the confines of the new diocese. To support these missionaries with all the wealth of the New York City parishes at one's disposal, was one thing: to carry them on with only the limited resources of upstate, was quite another matter. Within the new diocese there were no wealthy parishes; only St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Albany; St. Paul's and St. John's, Troy; Christ Church, Hudson; and perhaps St. John's, Cohoes, could be classed as even moderately Among the places then crying for missionary support were Johnstown, Herkimer, Amsterdam, Glens Falls, Gloversville, Ilion, and Massena—parishes which today are pillars of financial strength for the board of missions. In all the diocese only twelve parishes reported in 1868 incomes of over three thousand dollars.

The primary convention, busy with the election of a bishop and the multitudinous details attendant on the setting up of a diocesan organization, could do little about the missionary problem. The action of the mother diocese in voting to continue for a year all missionary stipends within the new diocese formerly paid by the diocese of New York afforded at least a breathing space. Some things, however, were accomplished by the pri-

mary convention. The missionary convocation of Northern New York was continued in operation until the next convention. A missionary committee was set up, with the Rev. J. H. H. Brown as chairman. Parishes were urged to pledge for missionary work, and before the convention adjourned, the roll of parishes was called, each being asked to respond by stating its missionary pledge for the coming year. \$3,495 was promised—a most inadequate sum.

II. THE STATE OF THE DIOCESE IN 1869

The convention of 1869 tackled the missionary problem in sober earnestness. It had been for years the custom for the bishop of every diocese, in his convention address, to run through his visitations for the year, not in summary, but day by day. There was much to be said for this seemingly tiresome custom. It gave the whole convention a panoramic view, through the bishop's eyes, of the diocese; and to the historian, these running accounts are of inestimable value. I know of no better way to give a modern reader the picture of the diocese of Albany in 1869 than to quote at length from this, Bishop Doane's first report to his convention:

"On Sunday, March 7, fourth Sunday in Lent, in Zion Church, Morris, the Rev. Messrs. Rulison, the rector, Lighthipe, said Morning Prayer, and I preached, confirmed ten persons and addressed them. A model country parish is here; rich in historic tradition, clerical and lay, and with the full raciness of the old savour, living still, thank God, in those who bear the name of that great layman, Gen. Jacob Morris, and in him who reproduces here the spirit of Nash, Wheeler, and the Bishop of Montana."

"On Tuesday, March 9, in the morning, I preached at the Union meeting house of Exeter. . . . Everything here has died out, services, organization, congregation, and interest. It is a fair example of the idle emptiness of a pseudo union where there is no unity."²

"But this field [the West Canada Valley] is enormous in difficulties, distances, duties—a circuit of forty miles to be traveled, very often on foot, through drifts and cold,

¹Albany Convention *Journal*, 1869, p. 36. The bishop of Montana was Daniel S. Tuttle, onetime rector of Zion Church, Morris. ²*Ibid.*, p. 36.

that vindicate the names of the two adjoining townships, Norway and Russia. . . A Missionary in such a point has to endure things which we clergymen never dream of, (at least I never did) bitter opposition from without, and too often lukewarm and critical support from within, with isolation from clerical sympathy and society, very little social enjoyment, small churches, small congregations, and small salaries."³

"On Wednesday, May 12, I consecrated St. Peter's Church, Brushes Mill's, in the town of Moira. . . . In the afternoon I was present at a meeting of the Frontier Convocation, an earnest meeting of earnest men who have nobly rallied to revive and rescue the Church in this far-off and almost waste region. I learned two lessons, one of which I hope you will realize tomorrow, and the other at no distant day, the value of missionary convocations, and the

need of a Bishop at the North."4

"At night, in the Church of the Redeemer, Northampton, the Rev. Mr. Eastman, the rector, and I said Evening Prayer. The rector baptized an adult, and I preached and confirmed fourteen persons. The facts of this service are such a tribute to the indefatigable rector and the earnest people, that I simply state them, to convey their own rebuke to the fair-weather Christians of our city parishes, where distances are short, and pavements relatively dry. I was obliged to change an appointment from Monday to Sunday night, and could only notify Mr. Eastman late on Saturday evening. Nothing daunted, a messenger went 18 miles to Conklinville to notify the people there of the fact, and six of the persons confirmed came up from Conklinville, and went back that night, through darkness and rain, 36 miles in all. Mr. Eastman's labors reach out to Glenwild. also, where he has regular services, and now since Conklinville is attached to Luzerne, he is to take Northville instead."5

³The following extracts from the Bishop's MSS journal give some notion of the difficulties under which this visitation was accomplished:

"Starting early I drove sixteen miles to Cherry Valley hrough very heavy

snow drifts."

"19 miles over the worst roads imaginable; 5 hours driving, the pitch holes incessant and the weather rainy. Reached Little Falls too late. The rector

had already begun the service.'

⁴Convention Journal, 1869, p. 52

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 61.

[&]quot;A really exposed and difficult drive with Stanley through the deepest snow drifts yet, over fences and once over a whole cemetery, brought us to Fairfield in a high wind and hard snow."

"There is a forlorn hope here [Pottersville]; a few Church people, from whom pecuniary support has died or drifted away (sic.) The Church is beautifully situated, but, as it seems to me now at any rate, in the wrong place.

The parsonage is sadly out of repair."6

"Mr. Hopkins is now the missionary here [Essex], and has entered, with his own energy and ability, upon a field which ought to be in charge of an associate mission. Boquet, that was dead already, is alive again. Wadham's Mills, Whallonsburgh and Willsborough offer excellent openings which will be thoroughly tested soon. . . . Ausable Forks, is fairly under weigh with admirable promise; and Peru, Trout Brook, Black Mountain and other points are overlooked, in the Episcopizing sense of the word. Not meaning to put two incongruous things together, I must say that the missionary here, ought to have a Deacon and a horse."

"No clergyman's salary ought to be permitted to be less than \$1000. No parish ought to be without a parsonage."

"My first visitation was to the Clinton County Associate Mission, under the charge of the Rev. George C. Pennell, assisted by the Rev. T. M. Thorpe, priest, and Mr. J. N. P. Goss, deacon. The work here has more than met my most sanguine expectations. There are not men enough, there is not money enough. Mr. Pennell is making sacrifice of both strength and money here which I can hardly ask him to continue. But the results are glorious. The system and order of the work, the sympathy of working, the meeting for counsel and comfort weekly, and for the Holy Eucharist at different points on the Holy Days, and the energy and spirit of a controlling will running through the whole, makes it a great success."

"Our hope of practical and powerful work lies, I believe, in the foundation of associate missions. . . . We have wrought long enough to prune their inefficiency, at two theories; the first, that parochial organizations are the only phase of church life; and the second, that we need only send a solitary deacon or a single-handed priest, and leave

him at the mercy of the people whom he serves."9

"The result has been wilfulness, incessant changes, the dreary isolation of the clergyman, and the feeble impression made by the Church in the community at large. As

⁶Albany Convention Journal, 1870, p. 68.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 70 ⁸*Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁹Ibid., pp. 180-181.

it is now, the only man to get for a little remote Parish, is a Deacon with his imperfect ministerial power and his utter inexperience of work. An Otsego County farmer said to me one day, 'Our Parish is not good enough for so-and-so, we must be content to be a place for you to break your colts in.' And we do break the colts in spirit and in energy. and often we break the mission itself besides. other thing is very plain to me in planning for the future. that we need to set the itinerant system at work. are in almost every neighborhood a number of small villages, no one large enough to keep a missionary at work. That there are souls to be reached and cared for in these hamlets, means that we ought to take care of them; and this can only be done by securing the services of an itinerant Missionary, who shall order lay services in the points which he has charge of, and visit them himself in rotation, from time to time, for the administration of the Sacraments and the personal care of souls."10

These propositions are so statesmanlike, so thoroughly in touch with the realities of the diocesan situation, that they should be preserved as a permanent guide for missionary policy.

III. BISHOP DOANE'S MISSIONARY POLICY

Scattered as they are, the quotations reveal much of the character and plans of Bishop Doane. First of all, they indicate that for the first time since the episcopate of Bishop Hobart, upstate New York had a missionary policy. This policy involved four steps. First, it called for the re-division of the diocese of Albany. One stands aghast at the sanguinity of temperament thus revealed. The diocese was but a year old, suffering from all the diseases of infancy, with malnutrition foremost; and yet the bishop was already planning the erection of two new sees of Troy and Ogdensburg. If the cool and cautious diocesan of New York read, as he undoubtedly did, this convention address, he must have smiled and shaken his wise old head. The re-division was obviously an impossible piece of Utopianism, and fortunately never carried out.

Much more practical were the next three steps of the missionary plan. In accordance with the bishop's recommendation, five missionary convocations were constituted, substantially the rural deaneries of today. They have played an important and

 $^{^{10}\}mathrm{Albany}$ Convention $Journal,~1870,~\mathrm{pp.}$ 181-183.

consistent function in organizing and holding together the missionary work of the diocese. The third step in the missionary plan was the setting up of associate missions. Here Doane was following directly in the steps of Hobart. We have seen the excellent work done in Greene County under Fuller, and how the cross-roads church at Hampton became the nursery of half-adozen thriving daughters—both examples of what an associate mission can accomplish. We have seen the three parishes of Glens Falls, Sandy Hill, and Fort Edward admirably worked by the associate mission under John Alden Spooner. Bishop Doane, with keen vision, saw the associate mission as the answer to several of the chronic difficulties of the mission field—the isolation. the lack of outside stimulus, the loss of continuity. One such associate mission, as we shall see, he did succeed in establishing; one or two others sprang up sporadically; but in spite of the excellent work done by every associate mission of which I know the history, his policy has never been consistently carried out, his vision still remains a vision unrealized. The fourth and final step, the employment of itinerant missionaries, had to wait two decades before it was given a trial. When tried, it worked.

To turn from these rosy plans to the financial details placed before the convention of 1869 is to come down to earth with a thud. The missionary committee reported that of the eighty clergy resident in the diocese, one-half were partly dependent on missionary stipends. To meet these stipends, the mother diocese had appropriated five thousand dollars—an appropriation which plainly would not be repeated many times. About four thousand dollars had been paid into the missionary treasury by the parishes of the diocese of Albany. It will be seen that no missionary stipend could be very opulent, and that the bishop's suggested minimum of one thousand dollars existed as yet only in the realms of the ideal. The committee further reported that at least ten thousand dollars would be required for the work of the following year.

Among the many responsibilities of this convention of 1869 was the adoption of a constitution and a set of canons. Canon XV, "Of the Missions of the Diocese," provided for a board of missions, composed of five clergymen and five laymen, one in each order to be chosen from each of the five convocations. This body was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1870.

Some statistics that appeared in the journal of the convention are worth noting. There were in the diocese in this year one hundred and thirty-five parishes and missions, five of which had been organized during the past year. Eighty-two of these were wholly or partly dependent on the board of missions. There were eighty-six resident clergy, a gain of eleven over 1868. Eleven churches had been consecrated since 1868, three cornerstones laid, nine hundred and sixty-two persons confirmed. In

spite of obstacles, it had been a year of growth.

The two following years present the same spectacle of increase under difficulties. The financial problem became steadily more serious. The board of missions reported to the convention which met on September 28, 1870, that although its receipts for the year had been just over nine thousand dollars, the treasury was empty. There were no funds on hand to meet the missionary stipends due October 1. Twelve thousand dollars was needed to meet the budget for the coming year. A house had been bought for the bishop, but it was only partly paid for. The bishop's salary was in arrears. In 1871, things were even worse. board of missions reported a treasury worse than empty; there was a deficit of four thousand dollars. The bishop's salary was still in arrears. Even the journal of the previous convention was still unprinted. There was no money to pay for it. As a means of settling one of these problems, the convention appealed to the diocese of New York to make some division of its episcopal endowments, but as we have noted, without result.

Yet amid all these difficulties, the bishop sailed grandly on, laying magnificent plans, and amazingly enough getting some of them carried out. In his address to the convention of 1870, he had again raised the question of a division of the diocese, recommending still that it be broken into three. The division of dioceses had in fact become something of a fetish to that group of advanced High Churchmen with whom the bishop was at this time closely allied. This recommendation was supported by the report of a committee on the subject, which had been appointed at the previous convention. This committee was continued, and ordered to hold a referendum of sorts in the sections constituting the proposed new dioceses. In 1871 the committee reported strongly in favor of the division, and its report was backed by a series of resolutions from the convocation of Ogdensburg—an area where the advantages of division were obvious.

Reading between the lines of official proceedings, however, it is quite apparent that the parishes of the proposed diocese of Troy were lukewarm, to say the least, toward the proposal. It was found, eventually, that the way to division was effectually blocked by Article V of the constitution of the General Convention, which required the existence of fifteen self-supporting parishes in any new diocese. The committee was therefore discharged, and the matter laid on the table.¹¹

IV. LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF DIOCESAN GROWTH

Although this part of the bishop's missionary plan fortunately failed, the advance work of the diocese continued to go forward. Diocesan contributions to missionary work were increasing by leaps and bounds. In 1868, the amount raised within the diocese had been \$2,500; in 1869, it was \$4,000; in 1870, \$7,000. This year, 1871, saw the amount rise to a peak of \$10,500, and an additional amount of \$3,000 for the year was pledged on the floor of the convention. These increased funds were producing results. In 1870, the first of the associate missions was started in Clinton County, under the Rev. George C. Pennell, a missionary worthy to be named along with Chase and Nash. Under him were a priest and a deacon. Working from Rouse's Point, as a center, the three men carried on missions at Centreville, Ellensburgh, Champlain, and Chazy. With his customary optimism, the bishop immediately began to plan for further associate missions—at Essex, Potsdam, Canton, Malone, Ogdensburg, and in the Helderbergs. Meanwhile, in Otsego County, the Rev. Alfred H. Stubbs was seeking to establish a similar work by using three lay readers.

¹¹In 1894, the question of division was again raised. The Federate Council of the churches in the State of New York, the ancestor of our present provincial synod, an organization from which much was hoped and little gained, appointed a committee to consider the practicability of a radical regrouping of the Church throughout the state. This committee recommended the erection of seven dioceses—Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Albany, New York, and Long Island. Under this plan, Albany was to cede to Utica the counties of St. Lawrence, 'ranklin, Herkimer, Montgomery, Otsego, and Delaware, and to receive from New York the counties of Dutchess, Putnam, Orange, Sullivan, and Ulster. There was much to be said in favor of this redistribution. It separated from the diocese of Albany the counties along the St. Lawrence River, difficult of access from Albany, and reached only by passing through a part of the diocese of Central New York. It would have freed Albany from much of its missionary load. And it gave the counties added to Albany along the lower Hudson a much stronger position than they can ever hold in a diocese which consists mainly of New York City. But Bishop Doane had grown older and much more conservative in many ways. His obvious reluctance, and the attachment of many parishes to the status quo, proved stronger than abstract strategy, and the plan died in the womb.

By 1875, a number of approaches to associate missions were operating with more or less success, though the Clinton County Mission was the only one in which the plan was fully carried out. At Herkimer, under the vigorous direction of the Rev. James D. Morrison, later bishop of Duluth, outstations were opened at Mohawk and Ilion, both of which were to ripen into worthwhile parishes. In Columbia County, three men were at work, one of whom, the Rev. Joseph Hooper, was to become the chief contributor to the writing of the history of the diocese. In Essex County the Rev. John H. Hopkins, Jr., with one assistant, was doing notable work.

In addition to these planned operations, several old and long dormant parishes were being revived. With the defection of Wadhams, work at Ticonderoga had come to an end, though the name of the parish was kept alive by one faithful layman, Jonathan Burnet, who through the dark years gathered little groups of Church people at his home for occasional lay services. But in 1869 the Rev. Francis H. Stubbs, a deacon working under the rector of Whitehall, began to revive the old parish, with so much success that in the same year the cornerstone of a church build-

ing was laid, and in 1871 it was duly consecrated.

Work in Port Henry had ceased with the closing of Ticonderoga; no semblance of Church activity was to be seen in that village for thirty years. In 1870 there was residing in the village the Rev. William R. Woodbridge, of the diocese of Massachusetts, on leave of absence for reasons of health. Finding that there were some Church people living in Port Henry, he began of his own accord to revive among them parish life. Bishop Doane gave him every encouragement. In 1872, as a result of his efforts, Christ Church, Port Henry, was incorporated and received into union with the convention of the diocese. In the same year the building which Woodbridge had erected was consecrated. So pleased was he with the response of the Port Henry churchmen, that he resigned his Massachusetts parish, and settled in Port Henry for a successful rectorate of over twenty years. Port Henry owed its existence, or at least its prosperity, to the fact that it was a lake port for the shipment of ore from the iron mines located a few miles back in the mountains. Backed by some of the mine owners, in 1876 Woodbridge organized Emmanuel Mission at Mineville, and nursed it into a thriving infant. In 1877, following one of Bishop Doane's ideas for the development of small missions, he succeeded in having ordained as perpetual deacon Mr. Charles E. Cragg, a jeweler of Port Henry, who worked with him there throughout his long rectorate. Woodbridge's success with these enterprises made him one of the leading figures in the mission work of the diocese, and for years he was the able and active secretary of the board of missions.

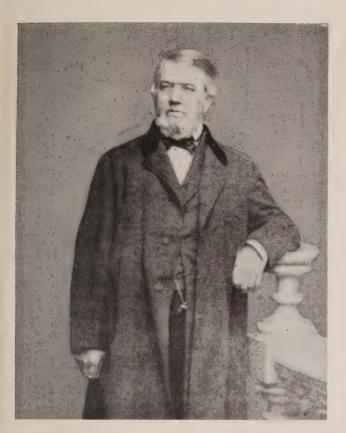
A brief summary gives us a fair picture of the missionary growth of the diocese during these first trying years. In 1869, three churches, two of which were to prove permanent successes. were received into union with convention. They were St. John's, Portlandville: Christ Church, Schenectady: and Trinity, Gouverneur. Ten churches were consecrated: St. Peter's, Brushton; Zion, Fonda; St. Luke's, Troy; St. Paul's, Harrisena; St. Paul's, Chazy; Trinity, Gouverneur; St. Sacrament, Bolton Landing; St. James', Lake George; Christ, West Burlington; and All Saints Chapel, Morris. In 1871, three churches, all to become important parishes, were received into union: Great Shepherd, Massena: Trinity, Gloversville: and St. Augustine's, Ilion. Four churches were consecrated: St. Stephen's, Schuvlerville; St. John's, Portlandville; All Saints, Hudson; and St. Luke's, Cambridge. addition, missions were organized at New Lebanon, Morley, Garrattsville, Schenevus, Madrid, Hogansburg, Chateaugay, Oneonta, Hancock, and Laurens. In 1871, five churches were received into union: St. Luke's, Chazy; St. Luke's, Lisbon; St. Paul's, East Springfield; Christ, West Burlington; and St. Peter's, Brushton. Four churches were consecrated: Ascension. Troy: Trinity, Morley: The Redeemer, Northampton; and The Cross, Ticonderoga.

Bishop Doane's great weakness as an administrator was overoptimism; a great builder, his foundations were not always of the strongest. He had visioned great plans for missionary expansion, and the young diocese, in the enthusiasm of its honeymoon period, had unquestioningly followed his lead. But back of all this expansion there loomed the ever-present danger of a financial crisis. In spite of the greatly increased missionary giving of the parishes within the diocese, expenditures constantly outran revenue. Between September, 1871, and January, 1873, the receipts of the board of missions reached the astounding sum, under the circumstances, of \$22,744. But it was all spent, a deficit of five thousand dollars had been accumulated, and the panic of 1873 was at hand, with a resulting financial depression throughout the country.

At the convention of 1873, the board of missions, with the bishop's assent, announced a change of policy. A legacy from William H. DeWitt, the founder and benefactor of Holy Innocents' Church, Albany, enabled them to clear off the deficit. and henceforth they resolved to budget strictly and incur no more debts. This meant a drastic revision of missionary plans. Nine mission stations were discontinued, and a number of missionary stipends, inadequate though these had been, were cut. In his convention address of 1874, the bishop tacitly admitted that he had expanded too rapidly, and that missionary money had been spent on places where the expenditure could not be rationally justified, and where it had produced little or no results. He announced that he would no longer consent to the incorporation of "mere nominal parishes which ought to stay missions." He was also able to state that as a result of the retrenchments, it was "the first year in the history of the diocese, that the offerings of our people have been sufficient to defray the expenses of our missionary undertakings." Never without an expedient, he now called for a restoration of the perpetual diaconate as at least a partial solution of the missionary problem. In 1875, a legacy of \$2,000 was given to start the endowment of the board of missions—that endowment which now produces \$18,000 every year, and is one reason why the missionary clergy of the diocese of Albany now live in comparative comfort and security.

The year 1870 had marked a new departure in missionary policy. Since the organization of the American Church, it had been customary for each local congregation, however small, to incorporate itself as a parish, with all the rights and privileges that parish status confers, including an excessive amount of local independence. Sad experience had shown that many of these parish corporations were bodies whose existence was on paper only. The canons of the new diocese, adopted in that year, provided for the organization of unincorporated missions. 1876 Bishop Doane extended the policy of organizing small units as mission stations under episcopal control; parish incorporation was to come only when the congregation had achieved a considerable measure of self-support. A canon was submitted to convention which would have admitted such organized missions into union with the convention, with representation in the lay order. This canon was defeated in 1882 by the opposition of the

larger parishes.



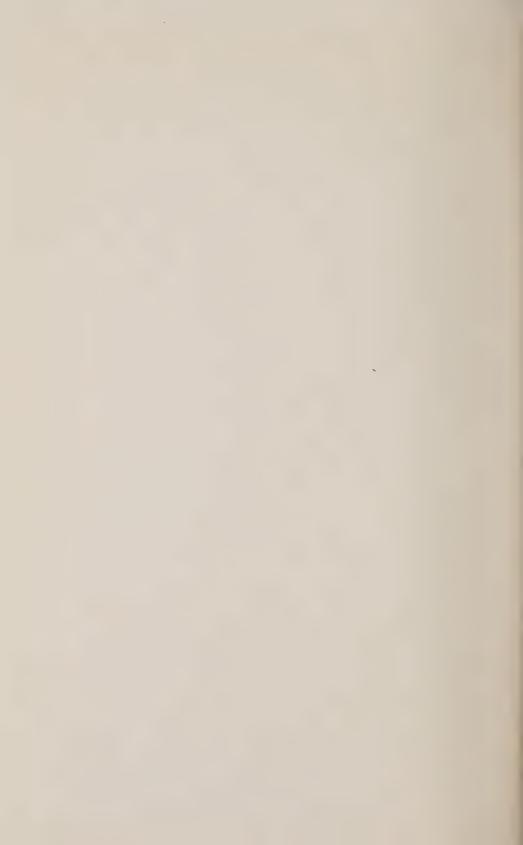
WILLIAM HENRY DE WITT

Founder of the Church of the Holy Innocents, Albany, 1850. He assumed the "entire cost and charge of it, making it a memorial to his four young children, who, in quick succession, God had taken to the rest of Paradise." He was also a benefactor of the Board of Missions of the Diocese, as was his widow.

COLONEL SELDEN E. MARVIN

Faithful Treasurer of the Board of Missions of the Diocese of Albany from its incorporation through the most trying years of its history.





The report of the board of missions for 1877 presents a rather dark picture:

"The past year has been one of great financial depression on all sides. It is not unnatural that the missionary interests should suffer in such a condition of things. It must be confessed that they have. Yet even so, the record is not as disheartening as it might be. The work itself has not been seriously curtailed, though the offerings in support of it have not amounted to what was reasonably expected, after the action of the last Convention. It was then voted to appropriate \$12,000 for missionary work—a sum none too great, certainly, when we consider the magnitude of the work with which we are entrusted. But it has not all been raised. There is still a deficiency of \$3,082.54. It is the same story this year, as in so many that have preceded it. To be wise, we must profit by this melancholy experience." 12

To meet this financial emergency, the board proposed the beginning of a quota system. This recommendation was adopted, with a measure of success, but there was nevertheless some retrogression in missionary work. The Rev. G. C. V. Eastman was withdrawn from Northampton, where he had accomplished such excellent results, and moved to Fairfield. With his departure, the work at Northampton, seemingly so promising, collapsed, never to be revived. In the convention of 1878, Bishop Doane was forced to pronounce an obituary over the flourishing Clinton County Associate Mission:

"The Clinton County Associate Mission included one of the most difficult portions of the Diocese. The physical labor could not have been done by any other man I ever knew. . . . Its surrender by Dr. Pennell is simply due to two causes. In the first place, the pecuniary prostration which has fallen upon this whole region, having reached Rouses Point last, swept away the only remaining props; and in the next place, the fading out, from the outlying points, of Church people, who have died or been driven away by lack of business, and of American people whose places have been filled by French Canadians, who are nominally Roman Catholics. . . . The places may, and I hope will bridge over, with casual services, the interval between their present depression and the possible return of population

¹²Albany Convention Journal, 1877, p. 25.

and prosperity. But I fear they never again can be what they were."13

A further disaster occurred in the growing village of Glovers-ville. In 1869, Trinity Church had been incorporated, and was apparently on its way to prosperity. In 1873, under the Rev. George Eddy, the building was completed and partly paid for. The next year came catastrophe. The rector was deposed from the priesthood; the church building, lost by reason of debt, was purchased by the Methodists; and the Reformed Episcopal Church set up here its only parish in the diocese, drawing away a considerable number of communicants.

But in 1880 a new start was made. The Rev. Charles C. Edmunds, rector of the old and stable parish at Johnstown, had working with him two deacons, the Rev. Robert H. Neide, and the Rev. C. C. Edmunds, Jr., then at the start of a long and distinguished career in the priesthood. Together, they operated the missions at Fonda, Canajoharie, and Fort Plain, revived for a brief instant the defunct parish at Northampton, and cast their eyes on the opportunity at Gloversville. On September 25, 1880. Christ Mission, Gloversville, was organized, the former foundation being allowed to lapse into decent obscurity. There was for several years a steady and promising growth, though the work was handicapped by the need of a building. In 1886, the board of missions, declaring that Gloversville was "perhaps the most important point for concentrated effort in the diocese," was able to appropriate for the work there the income from a legacy of \$5,000 just left by the widow of William H. DeWitt. With this encouragement, and with considerable help from other parishes in the diocese, a building was erected from plans drawn by Gibson, the cathedral architect.

By the end of the Seventies, the great lumbering era of the Adirondacks was drawing to its close. The era of the summer visitor was beginning. And the summer visitor frequently brought with him a love for the Episcopal Church and a desire for its ministrations. In the summer of 1876 the Rev. William M. Ogden, rector of Warrensburg, began to push north and to hold services at Chestertown, Millbrook, and Schroon village, reopening the old church at Pottersville. In the fall of that year the bishop visited the region and saw its possibilities. As a result, the mission of the Good Shepherd, Chestertown, was or-

¹³Albany Convention Journal, 1878, p. 25.





Edward Livingston Trudeau October 5, 1848—November 15, 1915 The Physician Beloved Pioneer Scientific Student of Tuberculosis in America

"The Christian religion was the most potent force in Dr. Trudeau's life."—The Rev. William B. Lusk.

"His most striking characteristics were his personal charm, his optimism, his wonderful never flagging enthusiasm, his wide sympathies, his choice of forceful picturesque diction in speech and writing, his ability to interest others, to make and keep friends, his love of people. Such characteristics made him a keen scientist and a great physician."—Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XIX, pp. 2-4.

ganized in 1876, and the parish of St. Andrew's, Schroon Lake, in 1878. Both places soon had buildings and resident priests. In 1876, St. James', Ausable Forks, was consecrated, and a few days later, St. John's in the Wilderness, at St. Regis Lake.

"A more grateful surprise," says the bishop of this latter, "never dawned on any Bishop's eyes. The Church stands, as if it had grown by the power of God, out of the lovely plateau of ferns that edge this gate of the wilderness. It is a gem in itself, to which no words of description can do any justice. Only, by that law of proportion, which is the leading law of architecture, harmony, it is simply perfect; for it belongs to the woods and the lake, the trees and the streams."

The marvelous work of Dr. Edward Livingston Trudeau¹⁴ in making the northwest Adirondacks a spot of hope for consumptives had its effect on the Church there. Trudeau, a strong churchman, was largely instrumental in organizing two missions, one of which was destined to become a strong parish. In 1878, the mission of the Good Shepherd, Bloomingdale, and the parish of St. Luke the Beloved Physician, Saranac Lake, came into being—churches whose spiritual value can never be measured by contributions or number of communicants. Saranac grew with fair rapidity, and from 1890, when the Rev. Walter H. Larom went there as rector, became a strong center of missionary work.

The story of the next decade is one of perpetual struggle against financial difficulties. Year after year Colonel Selden E. Marvin, who had been treasurer of the board of missions since its incorporation, presented substantially the same report: adoption by the convention of a missionary budget of \$10,000; planning of the year's expenditures on this basis; failure of the parishes to meet their promises; and a deficit at the end of the year. Each year convention was forced to turn itself into a debt-raising meeting, to clear off the deficit of the previous year, and to start the new year with a clean slate. This financial insecurity necessarily had its adverse effect on the work in the field. Mission after mission was started with brave hopes, and a building erected. And then the missionary, despairing of making a living wage, would move into greener pastures, and the mission would languish. In 1882, the board reported that thir-

¹⁴See Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XIX, pp. 2-4, for a biographical sketch of Dr. Trudeau.

teen mission stations had been vacant all year; in 1884, the number had increased to sixteen.

The year 1886 seems to mark the turn of the tide. In that year there were forty-four priests receiving partial support from the board of missions; the average stipend was \$218. Comment on this is unnecessary. But better days were ahead. In that year a rudimentary quota system was put into operation; this definitely increased the missionary offerings from parishes. Furthermore, the first sizable addition to the endowment of the board of missions was made in this year, when a legacy of \$5,000 was received from the estate of the widow of Mr. William H. DeWitt, the founder and benefactor of Holy Innocents', Albany. In 1887, Miss Charlotte Austin, of Oak Hill, left two funds, one of \$20,000 to be used to maintain the churches in Oak Hill, Greenville, and Cairo, and a second of \$25,000 to be used for diocesan missions in general.

A report read at the convention of 1887 shows what had been achieved in the missionary field since the erection of the diocese, and under very adverse circumstances. In the mission field alone, there had been over 8,000 baptisms, over 4,000 confirmations, and over 5,000 communicants added and received. During this period, the diocese had spent on missions \$214,000; the missions themselves had raised, for building purposes, almost an equal amount, \$194,000. That a considerable amount of this had not been spent too intelligently, is made apparent by the report of the board of missions in 1888, from which I take a significant quotation:

"The successive list of mission stations from the foundation of the Diocese, show a total of one hundred and fifty names of stations, of which ninety-three have been removed from the list. Fifty-seven had become extinct after an average life of four and a half years. Sixteen of the one hundred and fifty stations have become independent parishes after an average growth of five and one-third years."

While this shows plainly that the missionary strategy of the period was largely characterized by over-optimism, and that the favorite method of planning was that of trial and error, there is still a good residuum of real advance.

This report made clear to the convention the need for more intelligent planning in the mission work of the diocese, and of

more immediate oversight. Such oversight the bishop was no longer able to give. His very greatness militated against it. A recognized leader in the Church throughout the country, he was more and more called upon to sit on commissions of General Convention. A notable figure in successive Lambeth Conferences, the presiding bishop had committed to him the oversight of the American churches in Europe. Add to this the great effort he had been compelled to put forth to realize his plans for the cathedral, and it becomes apparent that he could no longer give the missions the close attention they required. Nor were the archdeacons, all of them rectors of parishes which made large demands, competent to fill the gap. In 1890, therefore, it was decided to create a new office, that of diocesan missionary, with no parochial responsibilities, and with general oversight of all the missionary work of the diocese. The first incumbent of that office was the Rev. Walter C. Stewart, who held office until 1895. An active and capable man, he succeeded in bringing a considerable amount of order into a rather chaotic situation. 15 In 1895 he was succeeded by the Rev. John N. Marvin, who had made a reputation as a successful missionary at Canajoharie and Fort Plain, and who continued as diocesan missionary for twenty vears.

V. BISHOP DOANE'S TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

On the Feast of the Purification, February 2, 1894, the cathedral was filled with a notable assemblage, gathered to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bishop Doane's consecration. Eight bishops, including the presiding bishop, Dr. John Williams of Connecticut, one hundred and fifty clergy, among them the dean of the General Seminary, the warden of St. Stephen's College, and the president of Hobart College, and a host of the laity, the most notable being the bishop's friend and the benefactor of the cathedral, J. Pierpont Morgan, made this one of the greatest gatherings in the history of the American Church.

The bishop's convention address, delivered on the eve of the celebration, was, naturally, a retrospect and a stock-taking. He first stated the problem which faced him on his consecration:

¹⁵His report to the Convention of 1891 is a masterful study of missionary opportunities. [Albany Convention *Journal*, 1891, pp. 106-113.]

"A large missionary district, with no coloring in it of romance, and with only two strong central cities from which means could be had for the sinews of war; not a penny of endowment, except, in small part, for the Episcopate itself; and an utter absence anywhere of that large energy and active enterprise, which the great cities give to men and measures. And there was the kind of pride in traditional uses, and of contentment with the general condition of things, which it is not pleasant to stir up, and which is not always pleasant when it is waked up." 16

The bishop then went on to sum up what had been accomplished in his twenty-five years: a cathedral, vastly exceeding in scope anything yet attempted in America, partly built; a girls' school in successful operation; a Church home in Troy; an orphanage in Cooperstown; the Sisterhood of the Holy Child Jesus: the Child's Hospital and its affiliate. St. Margaret's House for babies: to all these the bishop could point with justifiable pride. Nor had construction been confined to the center: all over the diocese it had been a quarter century of building. The magnificent parish churches of St. John's, Ogdensburg; Trinity, Lansingburg; Christ Church, Herkimer; St. Mark's, Malone, are among the finer buildings of this era of building. Many of the older parishes-Potsdam; St. Paul's, Troy; Cooperstown; Glens Falls; Schenectady, "the best instance I know of an old Church renewed in complete harmony with its former self,"-had refurbished themselves almost beyond recognition.

Side by side with these had gone notable advances in the

mission field; and here let the bishop tell his own story:

"There is one other growth in this Diocese which is very near and dear to me, I mean our work in the Adirondack wilderness. We have now there thirteen churches and chapels. . . . In 1869, in my first Address, I asked of the Diocese the building of churches at Ticonderoga, Ilion, Middleville, Springfield, Esperance, Morley, Gloversville, Lawrenceville, Schenevus, Mohawk, Oneonta, Canajoharie, Conklingville, Ausable Forks and Massena; and they have been built, and others too . . . And as I look over the map, which always hangs where I can see it in the Cathedral, I find, that of places which were marked empty then, either missions have been established or churches built, at Bangor,

¹⁶Albany Convention Journal, 1894, p. 140.

Elizabethtown, Port Henry, Raymertown, Philmont, Chatham, Castleton, Dolgeville, Boyntonville, Frankfort, Schenectady, Sidney, Stamford, Esperance, Mineville, Springfield

Centre, and Springfield,"17

"The figures of religious growth, symbols I pray God of real and eternal value, are as follows, in the last twenty-five years: baptisms, 43,430; confirmations, 27,203; ordinations to the diaconate, 111; ordinations to the priesthood, 124; churches and chapels consecrated, 78; increase in communicants, 12,000."

This year, 1894, may well be taken as marking the end of that missionary expansion of the Anglican Church in the territory of the diocese of Albany, an expansion which began in 1704. There was still to be growth—one hopes it has not yet reached its end—but the work from now on was to be largely one of consolidation, of the development of places already established. There was no longer a city, a village, or even a hamlet of any considerable size, in which the worship of the ancient Church, according to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, was not continually being offered before the throne of God.

 $^{17} \mathrm{Albany}$ Convention Journal, 1894, p. 151. $^{18} Ibid.,$ p. 152.

APPENDIX

A TABLE TO SHOW THE GROWTH OF THE DIOCESE, 1868-1894

Place	Church	Organized as a Mission	Or Admitted Into Union as a Parish
*Portlandville Schenectady Gouverneur	St. John Christ Trinity		1869 1869 1869
Massena *Harrisena *West Chazy	Great Shepherd (St. John) St. Paul St. Paul	(not organized)	1870
Bolton Landing	St. Sacrament	1891 (consecrated 1869)	
Gloversville Ilion	Trinity St. Augustine	(consceration 1000)	1870 1870

[Where stations were neither incorporated nor organized, I give date of consecration of the church.]

^{*}Extinct.

APPENDIX—CONTINUED

			Or Admitted
Place	Church	Organized as a Mission	Into Union as a Parish
New Lebanon	Our Saviour	1870	
Morley	Trinity	1870	
Schenevus	St. Agnes (Holy Spirit	1870	
Norwood	St. Philip	1870	
Hogansburg	St. James	1870	
*Chateaugay	St. John	1870	
Oneonta	St. James	1870	
*Hancock	Grace	1870	
*Laurens	St. Agatha	1870	
Hudson	All Saints	(consecrated 1870)	1888
Deposit	Christ		1871
Chazy	St. Luke		1871
Lisbon	St. Luke		1871
East Springfield	St. Paul		1871
West Burlington	Christ		1871
Troy	Ascension	(organized as free	
Port Henry	Christ	church, 1873)	1873
*Johnsonville	St. Paul		1873
*Crandell's Corners	Grace	(incorporated 1872	;
*Salmon River Lawrenceville	St. John St. Thomas	never in union) 1872 1873	
Albany Fort Plain Greenwich	All Saints Holy Cross St. Paul	1873	187 4 1875
*Potsdam Junction	St. Andrew	1874	
Ausable Forks	St. James	1875	
*Barnhart's Island	All Saints	1876	
*Mineville	Emmanuel	1876	
Chestertown	Good Shepherd	1876	
*Bethlehem	Good Shepherd	1876	
East Line	St. John	1877)
Colton	St. Mary (Zion)	1877	
Paul Smith's	St. John in the Wilder	ness (consecrated 1877)	
Saranac Lake	St. Luke	1878	
Bloomingdale	Good Shepherd	1873	
*Louisville	Grace	1878	
*West Stockholm	St. Joseph	1878)
Schroon Lake	St. Andrew	(incorporated 1876)	
Raquette Lake	Good Shepherd	1880	

[Where stations were neither incorporated nor organized, I give date of consecration of the church.]

^{*}Extinct.

APPENDIX—Continued

Place	Church	Organized as a Mission	Or Admitted Into Union as a Parish
Gloversville	Christ	1880)
Hoosick	All Saints	(incorporated 1881)	
Elizabethtown	Good Shepherd	(consecrated 1882)	
Blue Mountain Lake	Transfiguration	1882	
Middle	Memorial	1882	
Chatham	St. Luke	1882	
Jonesville	Grace	(consecrated 1883)	
Philmont	St. Mark	1883	
*Ellenburg Centre	St. Paul	(consecrated 1884)	
Palenville Stamford Mohawk	Gloria Dei Grace Grace	(consecrated 1885) 1889	1886
Frankfort Boyntonville *Watervliet	St. Alban Holy Name St. Andrew	(consecrated 1887) (consecrated 1889) 1889	
Horicon *St. Johnsville Springfield Centre	St. Paul St. Columba St. Mary	(consecrated 1890) 1890 (consecrated 1890)	
*Griffin's Corner	Emmanuel	(consecrated 1891)	
*Lyon Mountain	St. Matthew	1891	
*Worcester	St. Simon and St. Jude	1891	
Round Lake	All Saints	1891	
Cullen	Good Shepherd	1892	
Raymertown	St. Paul	(consecrated 1893)	

[Where stations were neither incorporated nor organized, I give date of consecration of the church.]

^{*}Extinct.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ERA OF CONSOLIDATION

ITH the year 1895, the second period in the history of the diocese of Albany proper may be said to begin. The missionary advance—that remarkable growth that began in 1787, while not absolutely halted, had now greatly slowed down. The new diocese had been firmly established, its institutions organized, its peculiar character fixed. From now on, the work of the diocese was to be mainly one of consolidating gains already made.

I. STRENGTHENING THE STAKES

When the convention of 1895 met, six of the clergy who had helped in the organization of the diocese in 1868 were present. Only two of these, the Rev. Joseph Carey and the Rev. Edgar T. Chapman, were still in active service. Their places, however, had been taken by a group of worthy successors. Three would eventually be bishops—The Rev. James Dow Morrison¹ of Ogdensburg, the Rev. Charles S. Olmstead² of Cooperstown, and the Rev. Sheldon M. Griswold³ of Hudson. The Rev. Walton W. Battershall was in the midst of his long career as rector of St. Peter's. Albany. The Rev. Fenwick M. Cookson had brought the great north-country parish of Glens Falls to new heights of achievement. The Rev. J. B. P. Pendleton was ruling wisely the old parish of St. George's, Schenectady. The Rev. Dr. Edward D. Tibbits had already established Hoosac School. Dean Robbins was developing the cathedral as a spiritual center for the diocese. The Rev. William C. Prout had started his unexampled record of fifty-five years' service as secretary of the diocese. In Troy and its vicinity were the group who deserve to be called the Trojan patriarchs.— James Caird at the Ascension, Charles M. Nickerson at Trinity, Edgar A. Enos at St. Paul's, George A. Holbrook at St. Barnabas',

¹See above, Chapter V, Footnote No. 4. ²Charles Sanford Olmstead (Feb. 8, 1853—Oct. 21, 1918), second diocesan bishop of Colorado (1902-1918).

³SHELDON MUNSON GRISWOLD (Jan. 8, 1861—Nov. 28, 1930), first missionary bishop of Salina (1903-1917), suffragan of Chicago (1917-1930), diocesan of Chicago (1930-1930).

Henry R. Freeman at St. John's, Frederick S. Sill at St. John's, Cohoes—men whose long rectorates of strong parishes and whose pronounced characters made them a continuing force in the life of the diocese.

Two proposals for radical reorganization were dealt with this year. The rearrangement of the dioceses in the state of New York suggested by the Federate Council—an eminently logical piece of strategy—was lost. An intradiocesan regrouping of the arch-deaconries, by which the archdeaconries of Troy and Albany, always unwieldly, would have been divided, and new archdeaconries of Schenectady and Saratoga set up, also failed of passage. The diocese, like most men, was becoming more conservative with age.

The board of missions reported ninety-nine missions and aided parishes under its care, manned by sixty-six elergy. \$13,600 was paid out in missionary stipends—evidence that stipends were still far from adequate, and that the diocese was hardly doing its proper share toward missionary support. Although progress in opening up new places was necessarily slowed, there was still an appreciable advance. New missions had been established during the year at Lake Placid, Willsboro, Twilight Park, Fine, and Westford. Of these, only the first was to develop into a considerable parish. But the evidence of the strengthening that was to come is furnished by a glance at the places then on the list of the board of missions. Athens and Coxsackie, Ilion, Gloversville, Ticonderoga, Oneonta, and Massena, were still missions or aided parishes. In 1944 these places contributed \$3,200 to the mission work of the diocese.

Although the mission advance had slowed, the next few years show plentiful indications that it had not ceased. In 1896 missions were organized at Bloomingdale and Vermontville; in 1898 at Clermont—a new start of a lapsed work—Elizabethtown, and Howe's Cave; in 1899, at Slingerlands, Altamont, Tupper Lake, and Santa Clara; in 1901, at Bloomville. Of these, only Elizabethtown was ever to amount to a great deal.

More important are the indications of consolidation on lines already established. The consecration of churches, with its attendant implication of debts paid off, demonstrates clearly what was being accomplished in this direction. In 1895, St. John the Evangelist, Tannersville, was consecrated; in 1896, St. Paul's,

⁴Albany Convention *Journal*, 1895, pp. 82-84. ⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 94-109; *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 123-137.

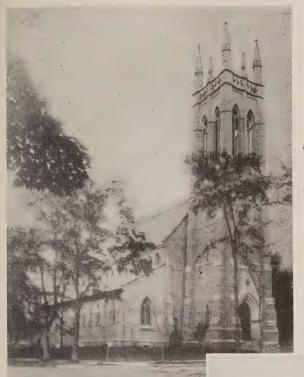
Sidney, and St. Stephen's, Maple Grove; in 1897, St. Paul's, Greenwich; in 1898, St. Luke's, Mechanicville—a building designed by Gibson—and St. John's, Cullen; in 1903, St. Mary's, Willsboro, St. Paul's, Fort Covington, and the chapel at North Granville. The history of the parish at Lake Placid is one of extraordinary rapidity of growth. Organized as a mission in 1895, the church was consecrated in 1900. In 1901, fifty-seven persons were confirmed. In 1903, a daughter mission, St. Hubert's, Newman, had its building ready for consecration. Since that time, the two parishes, now consolidated into one, have grown into one of the strongest in the Adirondack area. In 1898 the board of missions was gladdened when two missions, Oneonta and Mechanicville, voluntarily relinquished their mission stipends.

St. Paul's Church, Albany, has always been outstanding in its missionary work. In 1867 the parish bought a disused fireengine house on lower Madison Avenue and fitted it up as a mission chapel. In 1884, at the request of Trinity Church, which felt that it should have a clear field in that part of the city, the building was sold and the congregation united with that of Trinity. The proceeds were set aside for the building of a new chapel, this time in the western part of the city. In 1892, this work was begun, under the direction of the Rev. Freeborn G. Jewett, assistant at St. Paul's, who was helped by three lay readers. On St. Andrew's Day, 1897, the first service was held in St. Andrew's Chapel, which was blessed in 1898. The first priest in charge was the Rev. Ralph Birdsall, later rector of Cooperstown. In 1899, St. Andrew's was admitted into union with convention as an independent parish. Situated in a growing section of the city, the parish developed rapidly, especially under the rectorship of the Rev. Frank W. Creighton, the present bishop of Michigan. In 1931, a second church, designed by Mr. Norman Sturgis of Albany—a church that is one of the finest pieces of scholastic Gothic within the diocese, was dedicated.6

II. ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE FIRST BISHOP COADJUTOR

In 1902, the bishop was seventy years old, and though still vigorous, and with a decade of life before him, he was manifestly unable to continue the single-handed operation of the diocese. It was necessary for the convention that year to appropriate \$300

⁶St. Andrew's Church, Albany (1931, p. 12), passim.



St. John's Church Ogdensburg

In the Valley of the St. Lawrence and the center of the Deanery of Ogdensburg. This building was erected in 1871.

Among the parish's more notable rectors was Dr. James Dow Morrison (1844-1934), First Bishop of Duluth (1897-1922).

St. Andrew's Church Albany

Dedicated 1931

This was the last important church building erected in the Diocese. It cost \$210,000.00 plus \$40,000.00 for glass and furnishings.

Among this parish's more notable rectors was Dr. Frank W. Creighton, Sixth and present Bishop of Michigan.



to provide him with assistance from visiting bishops. In the following year he announced that he was ready to consent to the election of a coadjutor—the decision as to whether there should be one he left up to the convention. On motion of the Rev. Paul Birdsall, a committee of ten was appointed to consider the advisability of such action. The committee approved; the salary of the coadjutor was fixed at \$4,000, to be raised by subscription; and it was determined that the office of diocesan missionary should be abolished.

This decision was the signal gun for the opening of a sharp political campaign. The bishop, inevitably, had his own candidate—the Rt. Rev. James Dow Morrison, who in 1897 had gone from St. John's, Ogdensburg, to be missionary bishop of Duluth. Morrison was a strong personality, and a churchman of very similar stamp to Bishop Doane; in his favor the bishop waged a very definite campaign. But for once the diocese revolted against his domination.⁸ A very active movement was soon on foot, headed by the Rev. J. P. B. Pendleton of St. George's, Schenectady, and the Rev. H. P. L. Grabau, rector of Trinity Church, Plattsburg, to elect as coadjutor the Rev. Richard Henry Nelson, rector of St. Peter's, Philadelphia.

The special convention to elect a coadjutor met in the cathedral on February 11, 1904. In the bishop's address, after speaking of the solemnity and importance of the occasion, he significantly added: "You will, I think, add to your conception of your duty in the choice, some consideration for me, that you may give me one so far like-minded and so far in sympathy with the established traditions of the diocese as to be a 'fellow worker unto the kingdom of God, who shall be a comfort to me,' during whatever time is left to me."

On motion of the Rev. J. B. P. Pendleton, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, the election of a bishop coadjutor is a matter of supreme importance to the members of this convention and to the Church people of the diocese in general; and

"Whereas, it is advisable that information should be

⁷Albany Convention *Journal*, 1903, p. 56. It is perhaps significant that Bishops Morrison and Griswold were both present at this convention.

⁹Albany Convention Journal, 1904, p. 128.

^{*}Gossip avers that Bishop Doane had Griswold made missionary bishop of Salina to get him out of the diocese before the election. Griswold had been consecrated January 8, 1903.

given, if desired, to the members of the convention with regards to persons who may be nominated for this office; there-

fore, "Resolved, That after the nominations have been made for the office of bishop coadjutor, this convention go into executive session, and that during the executive session section 6 of the standing order of the conduct of elections be suspended for the purpose of affording an opportunity for a free and informal consideration of all matters pertaining to such nominations."10

The passage of this resolution evidences a strong determination on the part of this convention to do its own thinking and make its own decision. Bishop Morrison was nominated by Dr. Battershall, the Rev. Richard Henry Nelson by Dr. Pendleton, the Rev. Alexander Mann by Mr. Samuel B. Coffin, Archdeacon Carey by the Rev. Ernest Melville, and Dr. Nickerson by the Rev. Charles L. Sleight.¹¹ On the first ballot, Bishop Morrison led in both orders, with Nelson running a rather bad second. Of the other nominees, only Archdeacon Carey had any strength at all. As the election progressed, while Morrison's vote remained relatively stable, the votes of the lesser candidates gravitated toward Nelson. On the fourth ballot, Nelson led in both orders: on the fifth ballot he was elected bishop coadjutor. 12

Born in New York City November 10, 1859, the new bishop coadjutor had been educated at Trinity College, Hartford, where he proceeded to the degree of M. A., at the University of Leipzig. and at Berkeley Divinity School. After serving as curate at St. John's, Stamford, Connecticut, he had been in succession rector of Grace Church, Waterville, New York, Christ Church, Norwich, Connecticut, and since 1897 of St. Peter's, Philadelphia. At the time of his election to the episcopate he was forty-four

vears old.

On Thursday, May 19, 1904, that being the octave of the Ascension, the new bishop-coadjutor was consecrated. The now completed choir of the cathedral was filled with bishops and clergy, the nave was crowded to its doors with a host of the laity. The consecrators were the venerable bishop of the diocese, assisted by Bishops O. W. Whitaker of Pennsylvania and C. B. Brewster of Connecticut. The sermon was preached by Bishop A. C. A.

¹⁰Albany Convention Journal, 1904, p. 131.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 133. ¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 133-135.



The Right Reverend Richard Henry Nelson
November 10, 1859—April 25, 1931
Consecrated May 19, 1904, the Two Hundred and Eighteenth in the American
Succession, as
BISHOP COADJUTOR OF ALBANY

1904—1913 Second Bishop of Albany 1913—1929



Hall of Vermont. Present and participating were the bishops of Western New York, Long Island, and Nebraska, and the coadjutors of Pennsylvania, New York, and Central New York.

III. THE LEADERSHIP OF BISHOP NELSON

History tends to do scant justice to the memory of such men as Richard Henry Nelson. He became bishop when the spectacular work of founding the diocese and establishing its institutions had been done. He followed a spectacular personality; for Bishop Doane was the sort of person who lends himself easily to the biographer. Lytton Strachey would have enjoyed writing the life of Bishop Doane; he would never have attempted one of Bishop Nelson. It is an indirect comment on modern taste that to call a man saint nowadays is faintly to disparage him. I apply that word unhesitatingly to Bishop Nelson, and I apply it with no belittling intention.

The root of his character was a serene and beautiful faith. From that faith he derived a poise and certainty of touch that were perhaps his greatest assets as a bishop. Over six feet in height, he was easily the most impressive man I have ever seen in a sanctuary. Simple, with a natural dignity that required no dramatic effects, one could feel in his every action and word a deep sincerity. I can still hear that deep and sonorous voice repeating the confirmation sentence, "Defend, O Lord—". The same natural dignity that made him at home in the sanctuary made him equally at home in far different surroundings. The back country people of the Adirondacks still tell of his visitations—stopping over night in log cabins, performing his morning toilet in a basin on the porch, eating on kitchen tables spread with the rough plenty of the mountains—and all as easily and naturally as he pontificated from his throne in the cathedral.

Nothing is more important in a bishop than the ability to handle men. Bishop Nelson's dealings with his clergy were characterized by a combination of sympathy and humor. There was a time when the cigarette was rather disreputable. The vestry of a country church had denounced their rector to the bishop for the horrible crime of smoking cigarettes. The bishop made no answer. A few weeks later he had occasion to attend a public meeting in the young man's parish. After the meeting the bishop advanced to the priest, and in sight of everyone, offered the young man a cigarette—and smoked one himself. A

clergyman of the Lutheran Church had become dissatisfied with the theology of his body, and was reading himself into the Episcopal Church, under the direction of a priest who was a pronounced Anglo-Catholic. He felt that Father X. was forcing the pace on him, and appealed to the bishop. After some general conversation, the bishop remarked,

"You come from the Schoharie Valley."

"Yes, Bishop."

"Your name is Kling. You're a Schoharie Dutchman. And I know that a Schoharie Dutchman can't be driven. Go back to Father X. Listen to what he says. But don't argue. Then go home and work out your own conclusions. When you get some, come to me." Dr. Kling is just now concluding one of the most distinguished pastorates in the history of the diocese. 13

In churchmanship, Bishop Nelson was well qualified to carry on the work of Bishop Doane. Of a later generation in the Catholic Movement, he was more sympathetic to later trends in the ceremonial expression of the Catholic faith. Under him the cope and mitre became the normal uniform of the bishops of Albany.¹⁴

A large part of the year 1905 Bishop Doane spent in Europe, leaving to his coadjutor a great burden of work—how large a burden, the confirmations for the year, 1416, eloquently attest. In 1906, a complete survey was made of the missionary work of the diocese. In this survey, conducted by Bishop Nelson, it was found that there were in the diocese sixty-three self-supporting parishes in union with convention, five self-supporting parishes not in union, and five self-supporting missions. There were fortyseven aided parishes, twenty-nine aided organized missions, twenty-nine aided unorganized missions, eighteen stations where services were held at intervals, and fifteen summer chapels.¹⁵ This survey was completed by a study of salaries made in 1909; this study reported fifty-two annual salaries between \$700 and \$800, thirty salaries between \$600 and \$700, and twelve less than \$600.16 These figures require no comment. The coadjutor made no understatement in affirming that the proper carrying on of the mission work of the diocese called for at least \$20,000 a year from the parishes.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 83-87. ¹⁶*Ibid.*, 1909, p. 97.

¹³Rector of Trinity Church, Troy, since 1922. ¹⁴Albany Convention *Journal*, 1906, pp. 83-87.

In 1907, a considerable step was made in the work of consolidation by the establishment of the William Croswell Doane Fund, to endow the diocesan institutions already started. \$42,000 was raised and placed in this fund—a most inadequate sum, but a beginning.

The coming of the General Electric Company to Schenectady was rapidly developing the old Dutch settlement into a sizable city. This development the Church was quick to utilize. In 1906, St. Paul's mission, in the southwest corner of the city, was organized under the tutelage of St. George's parish; at about the same time, the work was begun in the suburbs of Scotia, which was to grow into the thriving parish of St. Andrew's. Stimulated by the example of the mother church and by the rapid growth of the city, the daughter parish of Christ Church made a large venture of faith in abandoning its old wooden building and site, and beginning at the corner of State and Swan Streets the erection of a large church and parish hall—a venture amply justified by subsequent results. Meanwhile, St. Paul's Church, Albany, freed from the responsibility of St. Andrew's, had established a mission at St. Stephen's, Delmar, which it financed in part for two decades.

In the southeast Adirondacks work was also progressing. The Rev. Oliver Shaw Newell, of the Church of the Messiah, Glens Falls, in spite of the fact that he was rector of the most powerful of north country parishes, found time to extend his labors, as John Alden Spooner had done many years before, into the villages and hamlets to the north of him. I quote Bishop Nelson's summary of one of Newell's missionary journeys:

"Leaving Glens Falls at 6 A. M., he went by trolley to Warrensburgh, then drove to Chestertown, twelve miles with the Rev. Mr. Purdy, and thence to Starbuckville with Mr. Harter. Services were held as follows: 9:15 A. M., Starbuckville, where fifteen were baptized; 11:15 A. M., at Horicon where three were baptized in the Church, and afterward one adult was baptized by immersion in Brant Lake; 3:30 P. M., six children were baptized in a schoolhouse at Grassville, and later three in an old log cabin; 8 P. M., at North West Bay, Brant Lake, two men and a boy were baptized. The next day at 9 A. M., thirty-five people (one-third of the population) attended service at Adirondack and fourteen were baptized. Other services with the administration

of Holy Baptism were held in a private house and in the Church at Schroon Lake, and the missionary left Warrensburgh for Glens Falls at 8:15 P. M. after a journey which must have taxed even his iron strength."

It was evident that men cast in the mould of Chase and Nash were still being produced in the Church.

A sign that the diocese was growing up is found in the creation, in 1911, of a committee on the history of the diocese. At first under the chairmanship of the Rev. Frederick S. Sill, rector of St. John's, Cohoes, and registrar of the diocese, later headed by the Rev. Wolcott W. Ellsworth of Johnstown, this committee labored for some six or seven years, and produced a number of essays on various topics in its field. It is the great regret of the present writer that no trace of these papers exists today.

In 1911 the bishop coadjutor, broken in health by the burdens he had assumed—since his consecration he had made ninetenths of the diocesan visitations—was compelled to ask for six months' leave of absence; a leave which was eventually extended to nine months. From this illness Bishop Nelson never fully

recovered.

IV. DEATH AND BURIAL OF BISHOP DOANE

On Saturday, May 17, 1913, the diocese was grieved to learn that the venerable diocesan had died suddenly in New York City, where, active to the end, he had gone to attend a meeting of the General Board of Missions.

"At 10 o'clock on Monday Morning, the bishop's body, in a pine coffin his zeal for burial reform had led him to propose many years ago, and which had come into wide use as the 'Episcopal casket', was borne to his Cathedral of All Saints, and laid upon the oak bier at the head of the choir alley with his head to the high altar. Vested in his scarlet doctor's gown, with the pastoral staff at his side, and the episcopal throne above him festooned with black and purple, the Bishop's body was to lie in state. Six lights blazed from the candles in the great standard candlesticks of black and silver, which had been loaned by the pastor of the Roman Church of Our Lady of Angels, while at the head of the coffin stood a crucifer in girded alb and amice holding the processional crucifix. . . . As the people moved forward from the west door, their eyes were caught by the yellow

glow of candle-light which threw out the steady, white-robed figure of the crucifer, with the crucifix, and the still watchers on either hand, and then they saw the red and purple of the great pall, the scarlet of the Bishop's robe, the shine of metal and the flash of jewel in the staff of office; and last, the quiet face and folded hands of Bishop Doane. From the face all weariness had vanished, all sign of weakness had gone. It was the face of the dead, but of the strong man dead."

At seven o'clock on Tuesday morning a requiem was celebrated by Canon Fulcher; finally, at two in the afternoon, in the presence of a vast concourse of bishops, clergy, and laity, the body of the first bishop of Albany was laid to rest behind the high altar of the cathedral he had built.

V. RESULTS OF THE NATION-WIDE CAMPAIGN IN THE DIOCESE

The year 1919 marks a new stage in the work of the consolidation of the diocese. In that year the General Convention of the Church inaugurated the Nation-wide Campaign—a campaign which resulted in the establishment of that annual necessary nuisance, the every-member canvass. At the convention of 1920, the diocese took action to carry out the campaign within its borders. A three-year "Albany Plan" was formulated, by which it was hoped to raise an additional \$100,000 for each of the three following years. This \$300,000 was to be divided, forty per cent to be added to the endowment of the board of missions, forty per cent to the endowment of the episcopal fund, and the remainder to go to the missions of the national Church.

By the time of the convention of 1922, \$50,000 of this amount had been raised—a substantial reduction from the sum hoped for, but enough to accomplish a very considerable result in the stabilization of diocesan finances. Of this, \$21,000 had been added to the missionary endowment. This, with a legacy of \$23,000 from Mr. E. Thorne, of St. John's, Cohoes, brought the endowments handled by the board of missions up to \$185,000. But the chief results of the campaign were its by-products. For years the contribution of the parishes and missions of the diocese to the missionary work within the diocese had stood at a dead level of about ten thousand dollars. In 1921 this giving had

¹⁷Quoted from The Living Church, May 31, 1913.

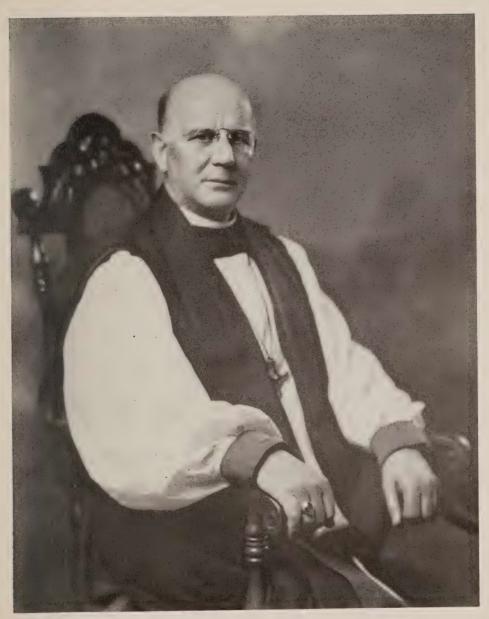
jumped to fourteen thousand dollars. Furthermore, there was no parish within the diocese but was effected in the way of increasing local support. Within these years, a considerable number of aided parishes relinquished their stipends. Independent parishes increased the salaries of their rectors. And the shameful condition revealed in Bishop Nelson's summary of missionary stipends in 1909 was completely abolished. From this time on, the missionary clergy of the diocese of Albany have received at least a decent living wage.

VI. ELECTION AND CONSECRATION OF THE SECOND BISHOP COADJUTOR

The success of the campaign had another important result. In 1920, Bishop Nelson, fast becoming a broken man, had mentioned the need for a coadiutor, and secured permission of General Convention to have one. But with his customary modesty and unselfishness, he refused to go any further in the matter until he could see the way to the support of the coadjutor without placing more financial burdens on the diocese. By 1922, the endowment of the episcopal fund had been increased to a point which seemed to justify him in asking the diocese to elect a coadjutor. A committee of convention, appointed to consider the matter, divided sharply, and presented two reports. The majority report, which represented in the main the opinion of the lay members of the committee, acknowledged the need for action, but recommended that it be postponed for a year. The minority was in favor of immediate action. Convention voted overwhelmingly in favor of the minority report; then proceeded to the business of nomination and election. Apart from the usual number of complimentary and hopeful nominations, only two men were seriously considered—the Ven. Roelif H. Brooks, rector of St. Paul's, Albany, who was later to become rector of St. Thomas', New York, and the Rev. George Ashton Oldham, rector of St. Anne's, Brooklyn. The Rev. Mr. Oldham was elected on the first ballot. On October 22. 1922, he was consecrated bishop coadjutor of Albany.

In 1929 Bishop Nelson resigned to the House of Bishops his jurisdiction as diocesan of Albany. He died two years later, April 25, 1931. In 1929, Dr. Oldham, the second coadjutor in the history of the diocese, succeeded him as bishop of Albany—the

third in a great succession.



THE RIGHT REVEREND GEORGE ASHTON OLDHAM, D. D., S. T. D. Consecrated October 24, 1922, the Three Hundred and Twenty-Fifth in the American Succession, as BISHOP COADJUTOR OF ALBANY THIRD BISHOP OF ALBANY



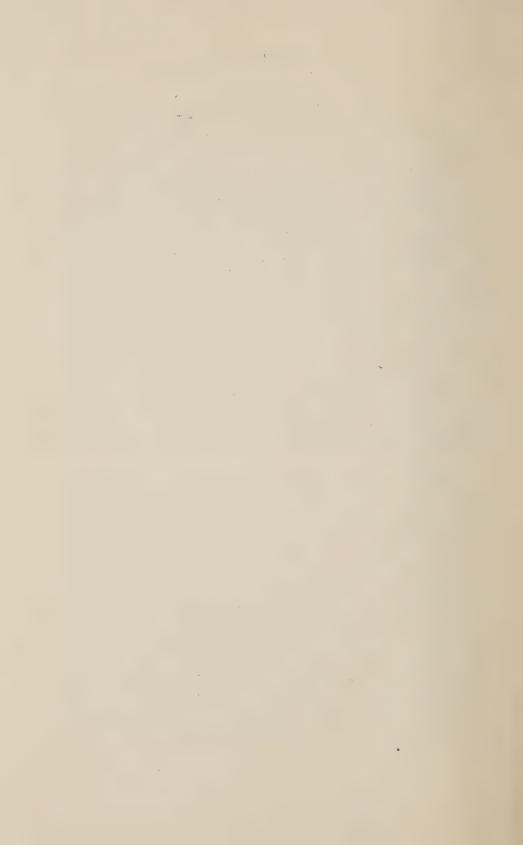
APPENDIX A TRIBUTE TO BISHOP NELSON

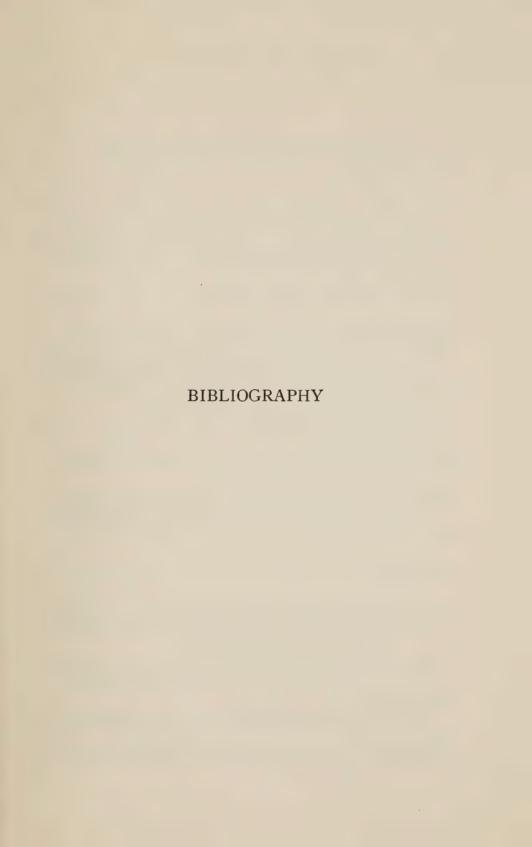
I am happy to be able to include a tribute to Bishop Nelson written by one of the few surviving priests who knew him inti-

mately:

"He was one of the simplest, most straightforward and withal transparent characters with whom I have ever had to do. He never deviated from a principle, no matter how loudly expendiency might call for departure from the straight path of honesty and integrity. Besides, when he gave his word, one could depend upon it with no uneasy feeling that one would be let down. This was so of Bishop Nelson because he felt his pledged word as sacred before God. During his episcopate, he was singularly free of opposition; true, because of his disarming gentleness of spirit. In the administration of his diocese, I never knew him to fail in getting his way because the convention resisted his will. His was a sweet reasonableness in dealing with individuals as well as with aggregates, and the quiet dignity you mention him as possessing in the sanctuary characterized him in all his relations with men of every sort and condition. . . . Then too, Bishop Nelson was a theologian. Deeply read in the Caroline divines and thoroughly acquainted with the modern thought of the Church from Keble to Gore, he had no superior in his knowledge of the Church among his fellow bishops of the American Church, except Bishop A. C. A. Hall.

"Again, this man was a true bishop, if by that we mean that he did the work with the selfless devotion bishops are consecrated to do. If ever a bishop deserved to take the name of his diocese, it was he, and Richard Albany is a name all who knew him and worked with him would have approved. Yes, Bishop Nelson was wedded to his diocese. Publicity, popularity beyond the borders of his see, meant nothing to him. His seclusion within the limits of his jurisdiction, his untiring devotion to his work as diocesan, his quiet and unobtrusive yet effective labors in the House of Bishops, would lead one to think these were almost abhorrent to him. We of the older generation so reverence his memory, that I am ashamed of this paltry tribute to his nature as a man and his character as a bishop. The most approachable of men, one was always sure of a kindly and sympathetic hearing. As a counselor, he was both discerning and wise. He was ever accessible. High and low, rich and poor, ever found in him a true and kind hearted friend. He was truly a pastor pastorum. His clergy trusted him and loved him as few men in exalted positions are ever trusted and loved. Bishop Nelson was a great man." KLING MSS.





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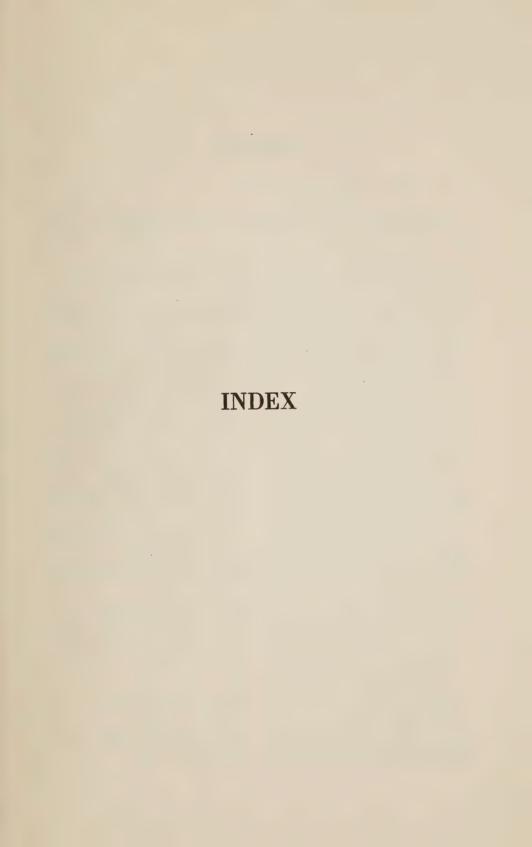
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